CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS

Conflict or Dialogue?

Vol. II

Cultural Creativity
&
Religious Dialogue

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مركز الكتاب للنشر

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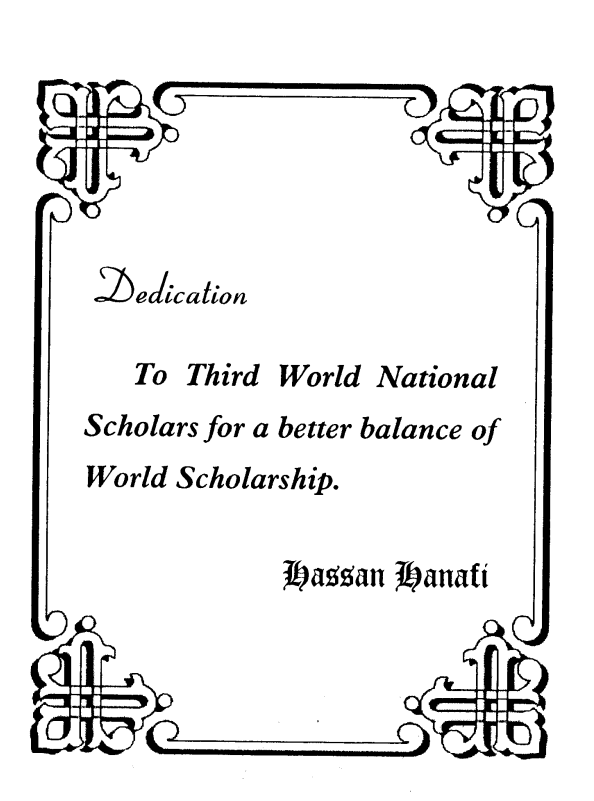
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Dedication

To Third World National Scholars for a better balance of World Scholarship.

Hassan Hanafi

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Preface

"Religious Dialogue and Revolution, Essays on Judaism, Christianity and Islam" was the first collected papers during my professorship in University of Philadelphia, PA, USA 1971-1975 (1).

Islam in the Modern World, vol. I, "Religion Ideology and Development", vol. II, "Tradition, Revolution and Culture" contain writings during the period 1976-1995 especially during my stay in Tokyo, Japan as a visiting professor at the University of Tokyo and the academic advisor at the United Nations University 1984-1987 (2).

"**Cultures and Civilizations, Conflict or Dialogue?**", Vol. I **The Meridian Thought**, Vol. II **Cultural Creativity & Religious Dialogue**, is the third, containing writings in the period 1995-2005 (3).

Hassan Hanafi

Nasr City, 1st May 2006

(1) The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1977.
(2) 1st ed., The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1995, 2nd ed., Dar Kebaa, Cairo 2000.
(3) Book Center for Publishing, Cairo 2006.

Contents

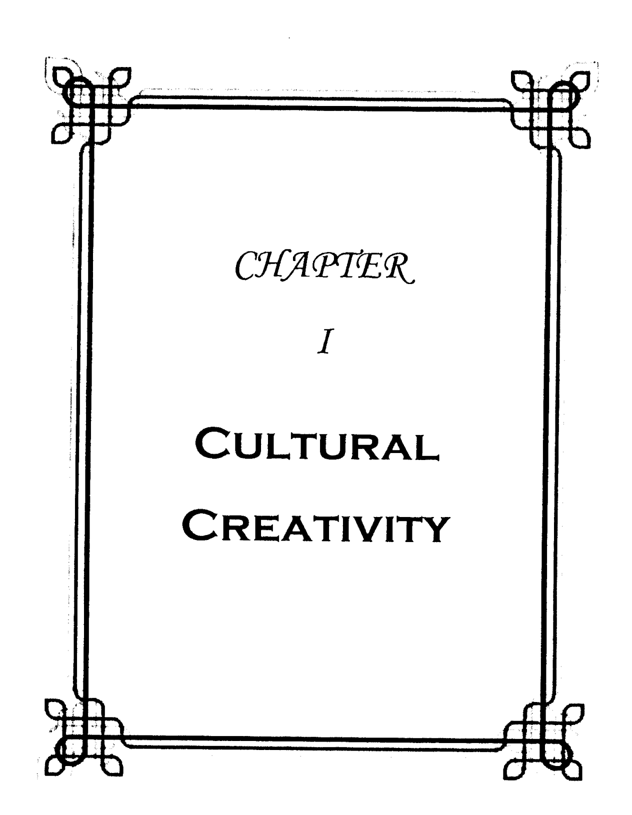
Chapter I

Cultural Creativity

Chapter II

Religious Dialogue





CHAPTER I

CULTURAL CREATIVITY



Introduction on the Logic of Comparison & the Art of Reporting

A comparison between two things reported on can be done according to the following rules:

1. Describing the image human soul makes of every part since the thing is perceived and understood by human mind. A comparison is indeed, not between two things, but between two images. The image is the place of the thing in human soul and which reveals the reality behind the thing and its image alike. Even on coordinators mind, each project is an image, a "projection outside" which may correspond to the written words (Books, volumes, papers, reports, etc.) or not. Dialectic of comparison operates neither on the level of ideas and arguments nor on the level of material facts but on the level of images intercepting in between[1].

2. A comparison is an art to find similarities and dissimilarities between two things whether in appearance or in depth. According to the logic of analogy, two things can never be completely identical, otherwise differentiation would be unconceivable, nor completely different, otherwise a comparison between both would be impossible

(1) M.G. Botez, M. Celac: Undesirable versus desirable societies, GPID, 66; Class, national and global images of desirable societies; social desirability between images and rules, p. 18-33.

and contrary to analogy as premises presupposing primary identity between different things. Since identity and difference between two things can only be in appearance or in depth, the clear and the hidden are two dimensions in human discourse and correspond to two depths in human soul. Both are maintained in Hermeneutics [1].

3. A comparison between things does not mean taking one as yardstick to the other except in a primary stage in order to see the image of each one reflected in the mirror of the other. It is not a one way reflection, one is permanent reality the other is permanent image, one is constant measure, the other is constantly measured. It is more a double-way reflection, interchanging notes between image and reality. Each one is once an image and once a reality. Justice is done for both. Both are equals [2].

4. However, this double reflection is only possible by the presence of a third part inherent and invisible in both and extracted by an "impartial spectator". The third part is a higher reality englobing both parts, existing subjectively (in the third man) and objectively in the world according to the logic of unity and diversity, of convergence and divergence. A comparison then goes beyond the two-term logic and the bi-polar thought. A comparison is essentially a dialogue based an tri-polar structure, in order to be meaningful comparatism. A third pole does not destabilize intellectual equilibrium of the two paradigms but deepens them showing that each one is a human option, a view and a decision, a third converging paradigm. A third part aims not to prove that A is not B or vice versa or to reconciliate A and non-A but to go higher, in a converging reality, in an extra or super paradigm "solvitur in

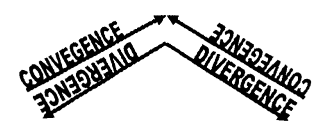
(1) This is confirmed by R. Preiswerk: Hidden dimensions of the so-called NIEO; The explicit discourse: what has actually been said? The first hidden dimension; what lies behind the words? The second hidden dimension: what is omitted? in Transforming World Economy (TWE), p. 33-48.

(2) K. Mushakoji: Comparative Political Development and Development of Comparative Politics, IPSA panel "Rethinking in Political Development, Paris 15-20 July, 1985, p.1-2.

exclsis". A third part is not bound by either parts and has his own freedom in his spiral strategy, going from the clear to the hidden [1].

5. Dissimilarities do not necessarily mean divergences Or oppositions, and similarities do not mean identity. Both reveal only a human option in a diptych. A diptych is a tension between two poles in human soul expressing itself in dualistic terms such as: soul and body, form and matter, deduction and induction, whole and part. Or using religious vocabulary: scripture and tradition, faith and deed, law and love, eternity and time, God and the world, etc. Since a diptych is a tension in human soul it represents two cleavages of the same mountain, a converging movement to the top and a diverging movement to the bottom. Both movements are inseparable, being effectuated on the same thing. The difference is only in direction or stress. For example, development is a converging point between the two projects but in SCA the stress is on underdevelopment and in GPID on overdevelopment. NIO is a convergent point in bath projects, but the stress is on NIPO in SCA and on NIEO in GPID.

CONVEGENCE



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(1) K. Mushakoji: Scientific revolution and inter-paradigmatic dialogue, GPID, 14; A tri-polar structure, p.16-17; Beyond formal logic, p.20-23; 60. "An inter-paradigmatic process should be able to break the bipolarity of the intellectual community by introducing a third pole in the dialogical process" p.16; 61 ... "the third intellectual pole is therefore, not a pole of reconciliation, rather it is a pole of novelty, a pole of creative chaos, which asks the two poles new questions, forcing both of them to reconsider their basic assumptions" p.16. Also, A.J. Judge: Representation, comprehension and communication of sets: The role of number, GPID, 22; Beyond 2 term logic, p.9.

6. A comparison based on a diptych does not fall into essentialist typologies. The double-key concepts are only operative ones. They help in explaining divergences and understanding convergences. Since the third part (the impartial spectator) did not live most of the experiences of the two projects (conferences, symposia, meetings, etc.), knowing it only through writing (Books, reports, papers, etc.), bringing them back to their origin in human soul would transform them again to living experiences, easy to understand by sharing them [1]. This unity of human experience is the substratum for common understanding. However, first hand knowledge of the two projects and their coordinators are a direct knowledge without intermediaries or processes of revivication [2].

7. In comparison, there is no right and wrong. The two things compared may reveal complementarity between two human options, two complementary poles in human soul and two dimensions in reality. There are only differences in approach, in methodology and in tools. There is no good or bad approach, method or tool but there are only differences in perception of realities, levels of analysis and priorities of options. However, there are coherence and incoherence, unity and diversity, homogeneity and heterogeneity, harmony and disharmony, organic interaction between parts or external juxtaposition, eclecticism and disparity.

8. A comparison between two projects is after all an academic work beyond historical, institutional and personal circumstances which may or may not be behind their limitations. A comparison is done between two concrete and accomplished works not between two good intentions or unfulfilled hopes. External factors behind some structures and even criticisms (administration, finance, delay,

(1) The same difficulty is expressed by Ibrahim Hilmy Abdel-Rahman in his evaluation report on GPID (Rahman ER), p.1-2.

(2) I had the chance to assist only at EIC.11 in Kuwait 8-12 March, 1981, plus my personal friendship to SCA coordinator since 15 years and with GPID third practical coordinator since 20 years. In life, I was also a third party between them attenuating human passions.

publication, policy, human passions, etc.) may help in explaining but not in understanding (1). An academic report is based neither on primary intentions expressed in the original plan nor on external circumstances and obstacles in action.

9. Initial plans are always promising (2). Progress reports are always encouraging (3). Final reports written by coordinators are self-praising or repetitious, theoretical written piece-meal, describing every paper one after the other without extracting the converging themes (4). Evaluation reports written on each one separately are either meditative and reflective on major themes of the project such as: historicism, populism, Tiers-mondisme (SCA) (5), or moderately saying the pros and the cons and even stressing the cons more (6), or lamenting because of external circumstances and logistic reasons: coordinators, UNU bureaucratization of science, etc. Evaluation reports from external reporters can be very critical to evaluation reports by internals, namely, coordinators, being repetitive, theoretical, uncritical, without conclusions and merely unfinished raw material (7). This report is written for the first time on the two projects, constructing the link between them and reconstructing

(1) The first part in Rahman ER is concentrating on these external factors, p.4-6; the difference between first coordinator and administrative - staff, between HSDP and University Council, tensions, misunderstanding; materials not published, not listed In UNU files, or brought with the coordinator going away, p.8-9; also Szczepanski ER stresses the personality factor, p.l.

(2) Socio-cultural Development Alternatives in a Changing World, project meeting report, Tokyo, Japan, June, 1977; Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development, a project description, Johan Galtung.

(3) Report on the formative stages, May 1978 - December 1979; A report on first planning meeting, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia.

(4) Project on SCA final report, Abridged Version, A. Abdel-Malek, Project Coordinator, UNU; Working document not to be quoted. GPID project coordinator's first input to the process of producing the final report.

(5) Alain Touraine: Le projet SCA: Un Forum Multi-culturel.

(6) Jan Szczepanski: Review of the results of the GPID project.

(7) According to Abdel-Rahman GPID project coordinator's first input to the process of producing final report is repetitive, summary of the whole project and the subsequent sub-projects. The synthesis hoped for is not done Rahman p. 15; Reports by coordinators are self-praising, for internal consumption, not to be quoted and lacks self-criticism, p.13.

divergences and convergences in one vision of the human soul. All evaluation reports by externals are deploring the absence of this synthesization and integration [1].

10. Since comparison aims at understanding similarities and differences, convergences and divergences, the language used in this synthetic report is a simple one beyond technical vocabulary of social science, expressing simple insights beyond complexities of disciplines and high standard of expertise and professionalism [2]. Since no reporter will be expert in all sub-projects, a common language would surpass specialization and compartmentalization of science.

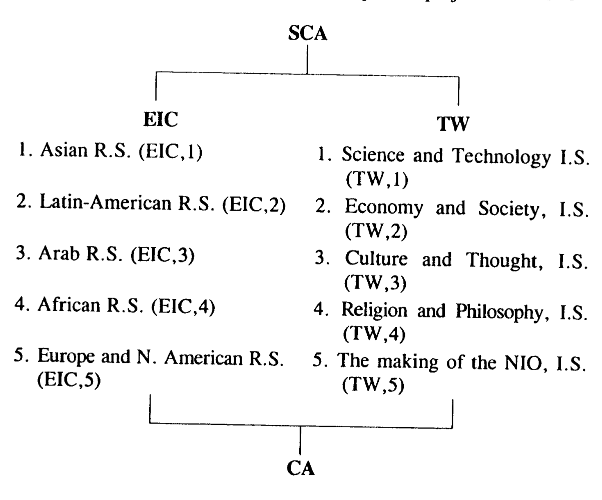


(1) According to Rahman ER, "the process of synthesis and integration is delayed". p.31; "the passage from the liberal expansive autonomous growth of studies to a stage of synthesis, analysis and integration of studies lacks", p.11; "It seems that the policy of the coordinator was in the first phase not to indulge in synthesis nor in searching for consensus which may have been justified from his point of view; p.8, "The second stage of interpretation which was left unfinished up to now ..." p.15; "failure in creating a dialogue in spite of stipulation on dialogue as Tool". p.10

(2) According to Rahman "A competence in all projects and sub-projects of hundreds of scholars is impossible", p.l; moreover, Abdel-Rahman mentions an evaluation report through questionnaires done twice without mentioning if it is distributed to wide public or just to scholars participating in the projects. What are the results, and are they taken into consideration in finalizing the project? Rahman p.9.

SCA Project: A Primary Evaluation; Positive and Negative Aspects

SCA project is a triology of three major sub-projects as follows



1. Culture and power in a changing World, I.S. (CA,1)
2. Specificity and Universality, I.S. (CA,2)
3. Geo-cultural visions of the world, I.S. (CA,3)
4. Modernism and modernity (1).
5. The Civilizational quest [1].

This triology and its extensive volumes (13 volumes) is supported by 21 Research and Volume Reports to deepen certain topics. There are 8 RR to substantiate EIC, 7 for TW, 6 for CA. One RR deals with the legal problem of the EIC whether in the field of science and technology or in the field of art and literature [2]. All the others are applied RR in Asia as a follow-up of the EIC, one, in India, Bangladesh, China and Japan. India comes first place (3 RR) [3], Japan comes afterwards (Sophia University S.) (3 RR) [4], and China comes at the end [5]. From the seven TWRR three concentrate on culture and Thought (TW,4) [6], three others on the making of the

(1) In RFS, EIC contains seven R.S.: Asia, Latin America, Arab region, Europe, Africa, North-America, Oceana. In the F.R. Europe and North America became one, and Oceana is dropped. In RFS, TW contains six I.S., the 5th is called History and International relations, became in the FR, the making of the NIO; the 6th prospects for civilizations is dropped. In RFS, CA contains only three: (1) Cultural identity and national sociopolitical change; (2) New and emerging perceptions of prospects of human civilization; (3) Specificity and Universality. In FR the three are: (1) Culture and power in a changing world; (2) Geo- political visions of the world; (3) Specificity and Universality. The last two areas are dropped. RFS p.18-19; F.R. p.11-13.

(2) Vesua Besanovic: Obstacles juridiques à la créativité intellectuelle endoganée.

(3) Jawaharlal Nehru University: Composite Culture and Socio-political change in India, a frame work of Inquiry.
- Surenadra Murshi: Language. Creativity and Identity in the Indian Sub-continent: A study in endogenous intellectual creativity.
- University of Chitagong: Workshop on creativity and the integration of traditions and modern attitudes, with special reference to Bangladesh and the Indian Sub-continent.

(4) Institute of International Relations for Advanced Studies on Peace and Development, Sophia University, Tokyo

(5) J. Needham, R. Huang: The Emergence of Capitalism in the Modern, West, a technical interpretation (the nature of Chinese society)

(6) Tom Bruneau: The Transformation of the World: Cultural and Tempos in Transition.

NIO (TW, 5) (1), and only one on science technology (TW,1) (2). The last six on the CA, two on Geo-cultural visions of the world (CA,3) (3), one on specificity and universality (CA,2) (4); one on modernism and modernity (CA,4) (5); the last two are identified, being closer to the GPID papers (6).

Since Data is available, through original documents and reports, a summary of the two projects would be repetitious. It would be much more useful to describe directly the positive and negative aspects of each project. Pros and cons are not signs of greatness and misery of man (Pascal) but signs of greatness since cons can be overcome by man himself by his effort to ameliorate things, to perfect himself and to go from the worst to the best. A primary evaluation of SCA can lead to important positive aspects which explain the project dynamism:

1. Culture is not a static prototype, an eternal essence throughout history and vicissitudes of time. It changes in a changing world. It expresses living experiences of individuals, societies and nations. Culture is essentially a historical culture (7). The title of the project ends by "In a Changing World". The second big sub-project is entitled "The Transformation of the World". The first topic in the third sub-project CA is "Culture and Power in a Changing World".

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(1) Helena Rytovurni: Revaluation Interdependence: what was it, where did it come from, what did it lead to?

- Tamas Szentes: Transformation of the world economy and society: In what direction and in whose interests?

(2) University of Belgrade: Technology and transformation of society: New space of freedom

(3) Reberto Mesa: La formacion Historica de la vision de la mundo y su Transformacion por Espana

(4) Wolfgang Fritzhang'. Economy and Culture in Marxism. A critical examination of its paradigms of articulation

(5) S.C. Dupe: Modernization and development: Search for alternative paradigms.

(6) Bruno Ribes: Pour une étude de la transformation des structures familiales en milieu urbain.

(7) This is what A. Touraine called historicism, A. Touraine p.5-6, p.9-19.

Once the world is changing alternatives appear, leaving the old options for new ones [1].

2. Culture is not an elitist occupation of the aristocracy for intellectual pleasure and meditation in the world, motivated by astonishment ***Thaumazein*** but an expression of society. Although class structure reflects itself in culture such as labor culture, people's culture is more dominant. Diversity of culture is due to diversity of peoples. That is why cross-cultural analysis is necessary to discover the inter-cultural relations. There is a new internal order even on the level of culture. Cultural identity is a permanent element which preserves societies and nations throughout history. Culture provides people with visions of the world. Cultural circles are centered around regions and moving from one circle to another in history: Western culture, Eastern culture (The other side of the river) ... etc. Traditional Western cultural view of the world expresses Western hegemony. Historical macro-analysis of Western modern times provides three stages: Western classicism and European hegemony of history 1780-1980, the change of political incept of the world 1937-1952 (A micro-analysis of spatial dimension of power) and anti-hegemonic vision represented by the enlightenment. Non-Western visions of the world include Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, Latin-American and African. China is represented twice as civilization and science and Latin America also twice as vision and ideology [2].

3. In every culture there are two elements: exogenous and endogenous. The first is static, external, formal and even an

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(1) This is also what A. Touraine called SCA populism, A. Touraine, p.6, p.19-24; this aspect appears in lot of sections and papers in SCA; EIC, V, A. Legarg: La notion de culture national dans un contexte federal et multiculturel; Eld-, V, U. Himmelstrand: The triple challenge of Welfare state and reformist labour movement; also Class-Structure and people's mobilization in Bangladesh since the pre-colonial period, in workshop on creativity and the integration of traditions and modern attitudes with special reference to Bangladesh and the Indian sub-continent, Chittagong, 1980.

(2) CA, 3. Ed. J. Needham, A. Abdel-Malek, Anisuzzaman: Goe-cultural Visons of the World.

alienation from the heart of culture in thought and in action. The second is dynamic, internal, material and even the necessary condition for creativity. Creativity is not individual, as it is the case in art, but collective shared by the whole nation throughout history. Since creativity is endogenous, transfer of knowledge becomes an exogenous factor, a source of imitation, not creativity. In international law, creativity can serve peace, development and endogenous cultural growth (1).

4. A culture is essentially a political culture as it is a mass-culture. It is a national culture and a state culture as it is people's culture and individual culture. Culture is not single art and folklore but it expresses a whole nation embodied in a State from the beginning of history. Historical cultures belong to the East (India, China, Japan) or to the Middle-East (Iran, Mesopotamia, Phynecia, Egypt). Cultural circles are centered around States and political powers (2). It is very clear in the historical culture in Asia. Political culture in Japan is stemming out from the characteristics of society, the dialectics between the endogenous and the exogenous, the familiar and the strange, the autonomous and the heteronymous.

However, some negative aspects may appear:

1. SCA is a huge project, colossal, immense, extensive and proliferate. The triology itself makes 15 volumes, supported by other 21 RR and VR, and diffused by 81 blue-cover papers off-prints of the proceedings. The extension of the project was at the loss of the intention. No wonder that from these 36 volumes only three were

(1) This aspect is the main topic in section 1 in EIG, II; also; the uses and limitations of transfer of knowledge; F. Rigaux: Des Féodalisme des principes universels de droit à travers la comity, ch. VIII, 1, 1.

(2) "Characteristics of Japanese society, familiarizing and strangerizing, contact with heterogenous cultures and transformation, the principles of politics, conflict and domination, autonomy and assimilation, Karma and innovation, in J. Kamshima: In research of a nex theoretical framework for political analysis and Asian political cultures; Also, K. Osu: Linkage politics and political institutionalization in East Asia (Sophia); M. Koyama: The role of the state in the process of modernization (Sophia).

published (TW, 1, 2, 3) and two memographs of proceedings, (TW,1, EIC,1). The rest is still in the offices of the UNU. There are a lot of international and regional symposia, books, proceedings, research reports, research volumes, research papers till the point that it becomes very difficult for one masterhead to control all. Because of this widespread range of research there are lots of repetitions. The same themes come over and over again overlapping on many of the GPID themes. By the force of repetition, man can know them all by heart. There are lots of generalities due to the wide scope of research. For example, Transformation of the World can carry anything in it. Its content: Science and Technology, Economy and Society, Culture and Thought, Religion and Philosophy are independent titles from the main one. The same generality exists in Converging Areas. Some analysis in depth on some traditions as case studies, would be worthier than some generalities on tradition and modernism. Public relations, boards of honor and Heads of States are external to scientific research [1]. Some slogans were greatly used which give the impression, right or wrong, of a certain degree of verbiage or a hallo of big words.

2. There are lots of hopes, desires and wishes, dreams and prophecies which made SCA more like a wishful thought carrying maximum of idealism and showing a high degree of optimism. It is something similar to poetry of the Third World or a Hymn to Joy to the three continents. We are living in SCA the best possible worlds. However, realities may be something else. If this rosy picture is real, how to explain then all the setbacks in the Third World, from revolutions of the 50s and 60s to counter-revolutions in the 70s and 80s, from Bandeong to Camp David? SCA is still living the heroic and romantic era of Mao, Nasser, Nehru, Tito, Sukarno, N'Khruma, Lumumba, Guevara, Castro, Allende, C, Torres, Ben Bella, Hoche Minh and Sihanouk. Some continuous revolutions may justify these

(1) TW,I, App.2. participants: Board of Honor p.163; TW,II, App.2 list of participants; Board of Honor, p.189; TWIII, App.I; List of participants; Board of Honor, p.92, ..etc.

hopes (Iran, Sudan, Nicaragua). However, counter revolutions are more common expressing the fragile organizations of revolutions and the strength of hegemonic powers [1].

3. Methodological analysis disappeared in the extension of the research. It appeared only partially here and there as a note or a remark. Specificity which is the main key-concept in EIC, the main sub-project in SCA is considered as one theme in converging areas "Specificity and universality" (CA,3). More concentration on key-concepts such as specificity, endogeneity, national or a political culture etc. is more helpful in order to give SCA a more solid base and more vigorous input. More deepening of specificity as double (India and China within Asia) or triple (Japan, within India and China, within Asia) would be scientifically fruitful. Sometimes specificity is lost in global analysis and in world history of cultures and civilizations and therefore it becomes difficult to maintain a balance between specificity and universality. Meaningful comparatism based on specificity some- times sacrifices itself for the sake of universality, instead of being maintained and preserved. The methodology became a whole field, a combination between social science and new social phenomena in the Third World [2]. A more precise and articulated methodological approach such as Social Dialectics or an organic set of key-concepts would transform it from simple working hypothesis and directing ideas, namely, positions or orientations to complete methodological construction from subjective approaches and illuminating ideas to objective methods and social analysis.

4. In spite of a huge and deliberate effort to surpass Western Orientalism, social science and the possible birth of a new discipline in human science for the Third World by endogenous scholars, there

(1) A. Abdel-Malek: The Civilizational Significance of Bandeong Republished, symposium on Bandeong, Cairo, April 1985

(2) FR.: A note on method, p.8-10; methodology and focus of research, PMR, p.3, p.5-8; Meaningful comparatism. FR., p.3-6; Specificity, PMR., p.3; FR.,6-8; TW,II p.3; Also, A. Abdel Malek: The concept of specificity, SCA,7.

is a fear of some reductionism of culture to politics and political ideologies, of thought to sociology, of religion to history, etc. Some phenomenological analysis would help in keeping Essences alive and independent from case studies of cultural circles. Politics after all are world's moods like human moods, changing and unstable. In spite of the political importance of the project for the Third World, expressing its anxieties and hopes, cultures sometimes are refractory to world politics [(1)].

5. In spite of the loyalty of SCA, some elements fail such as the analysis of art with religion and philosophy and the study of militarization, namely the role of the army in the nation. Few allusions to militarization exist, however: militarization of economy and science, militarism in Japan, regulations of armaments in Asia with concepts of arms control, limited proposals on regimal measures, giving examples from East Asia (Russia-China borders, Korean peninsula, Indo-China, ASEAN, Indian Ocean) [(2)]. The role of the army is done previously outside. SCA and before its birth [(3)]. It could have been incorporated and given the importance of the nation and political power in every culture. Art is rarely mentioned or even alluded to in spite promise of a study on cinema [(4)]. Art is the soul of Africa, equal culture, to religion in Asia and a carrier of science in Ancient Egypt. Folklore is a part of mass-culture and a source of set of values which give the masses their theoretical framework and their motivation for action. Religion in SCA is the main stream in every culture. Philosophy and science come afterwards. GPID may

(1) TW,III, Culture and Thought; III, Social power: The emergence of New Socio-political forces, p.40-61.
(2) M. Pecujlio, 2. Vidakovic, V. Stumbuk: Technology and transformation of society; New spaces for freedom; Militarization of the economy and science; A birth place of the metropolitan technology; Anonymous paper on Japan: The realist anti-military speech delivered by representative Takao Saito; H. Maeda: The regulation of armaments for Asia (Sophia).
(3) A. Abdel-Malek: L'Armée dans la Nation, Algiers; L'Egypte, Société militaire, Paris.
(4) RFS, p.16; Another promise "Attention will be directed in this domain, to the very rich artistic cultural and literacy production of contemporary Africa, in its major formative Geo-cultural areas, EIC. IV P.99.

have filled the gap by a sub-project on militarization and two studies on theatre as AWL, abstraction made of other forms of Art, poetry, novels, short stories, painting, sculpture, music, etc [1].

6. Because of the overwhelming presence of the State political power in SCA, counter-culture, namely, opposition movements and underground literature were not studied. Socio-cultural alternatives in SCA are mostly one block, one homogeneous culture, a national culture embodied by the State, namely, political power, where voices of dissent are is unheard. References to protest movements are very few and relevant to Asia not to the Arab and Muslim world [2]. They are futuristic which conform to the dynamic trend in SCA. Later on, NST world fill the gap and look for more diversified alternatives instead of the homogenous ones.

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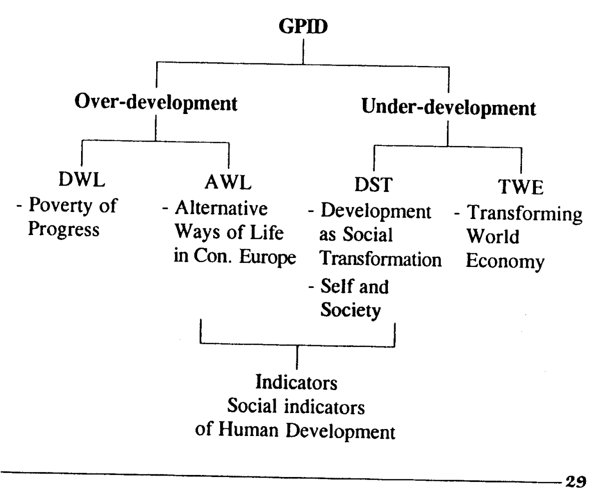
(1) P.10; Also, H. Seki: Militarization and Development, DST, p.183-201; In theatre, GPID gave two studies, one on Poland and the other on Switzerland; E. Matynia: Poland living theatre, AWL, p.132-143; C. Pfister: A glimpse of the alternative theatre scene in Switzerland, AWL, p.144.-156; "black" time has its cultural expressions in art, music, gatherings, feeling good and social symbiosis; H.B. Green: Time conflict and black cultures, TCD p.34-44.

(2) Y. Mural: The potential for self-reliant development in Indonesia (Sophia); 1,1, Protest movements and riots against government policies p.3-10; M. Pecujlio; 2. Vidakovis V. Stumbuk: Technology and Transformation of Society; New Spaces for Freedom; The Social Protagonists, p. TW, IV; W.F. Huang: Making Antagonisms Productive: On the structure of interparadigmatic communication P.233-239.



GPID Project: A Primary Evaluation; Positive And Negative Aspects

GPID project is also a triology of three major parts, not those mentioned in the title: goals, processes and indicators but development over-development and indicators as follows:



As it is the case in SCA, every part is supported by volume reports or by papers. The DST is supported by Human development in its social context (HDSC), Time, culture and development (Mallman/Nudler), (TDC) and by Human Needs, a contribution to the current debate ed. K. Lenerer with co-operation with J. Galtung, D. Antal (HN). TWE is supported by, Imperialism, the permanent stage of capitalism (Herb Addo) (IPSC). GPID is also supported by 71 papers(Red-cover), Goals (35), Processes (17), Indicators (7) and Tools (12), sometimes overlapping without clear-cut lines of demarcation [(1)].

Positive Aspects in the GPID can be seen as follows:

1. The project is based on a rational and analytical method in complete calmness and serenity without losing one's temper. It contains objective data analysis, case studies, based on statistics and diagrams away from slogans and generalities. Professional economists, although ideologically biased, are capable of such analysis. The scholars enjoy a high standard of expertise and professionalism. Most of them are widely known. All the conclusions are well documented with lots of footnotes and references. The project unveils masks, clarifies misunderstandings and goes to the hidden elements in every discourse [(2)].

(1) General meetings and discussion 12 papers (GPID,2, 15, 19, 49. 50, 57, 61, 70, 71, 72, 77; Goals 25 papers (GPID,4, 7, 8. 3. (for G,I); 9, 10, 21, 46 (For G,2); 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 41, 42, 43, 45, 67, 68 (For G.4); 18, 51, 52 (For G.5); 20, 51, 52 (for G.6). Processes 17 papers (GPID, 1, 12, 32F, 36, 37 (for P.8); 24, 53, 55, 60 (for p.8, 9); 5, 34 (for p.9); 11, 24 (for p.10); 35 (for p.12). Indicators 7 papers (GPID 16 (for 1,13 or 6.2); 17 (for 1, 15); 3, 40 48 65 (for I, 18); 22, (for 1, 19, 22, 23); 13, 69 (for 1, 23); 59 (for 1, 24); 23, 33, 38. 39, 47, 76 (for Indicators in general). Tools 12 papers GPID, 3, 40, 48, 64, 65 for T.18; 22 for T. 19, 22, 23; 13, 69 (for T, 23); 59 (for T.24). One observes:

(a) The absence of G, 3; P,11, 16, 17, 1.20, 21, 22

(b) The overlapping between GI and P,7 between P.8 and P.9 (GPID, 24, 53, 55, 60), between T.19, 22 and 23. (for 1, 18);

(c) Inequity between goals, processes (14) and indicators (12)

(d) G.4 on AWL comes ahead (12).

(2) HN, II, Typical misunderstanding about needs p.127-185; G.A. Mullman, S. Marcus: Logical Clarifications of the Study of Needs, HN, p.163-185; Y. Friedman: About implicit limitations on satisfiers, An-p.151-162.

2. The main intuition in the study of development is a distinction between development and transformation. Development is a Western concept due to developmental philosophy and implies materialism, hegemony and expansion contrary to that, social transformation is a global development of man, social and cultural, which has a liberating function. Social transformation is the endogenous element in development. This intuition corresponds to the actual drama in developing countries.

3. There is a real unveil of western mask of overdevelopment and underdevelopment. The DWL and the AWL reveal the poverty of progress and hidden misery of the soul behind the material progress. AWL are still very weak and cannot save. The NIEO is another myth offered by the declining Capitalist System to absorb the new wealthy nations and to reintegrate their markets, labor and resources for a new wave of exploitation through multinational corporations. This also corresponds to the actual drama of the relation between overdeveloped and super-industrialized societies and developing countries.

4. There is a link between development, social transformation and culture not only in every society and culture but also between cultures and societies. The Green Movement in the West, specially in Scandinavia, corresponds to Gandhian Thought. The NIEO is not only an economic and political program but it is also based on cultural elements in Western Eurocentrism, racialism and complex of superiority. Notions of time may have played a great role in developing countries during the era of decolonization.

However, some negative aspects may persist in the GPID such as:

1. There is a structural incoherence in the division of the project due to an impulse or an impetus originating from coordinators, co-operators or even from the topic itself. The main theme is Development, but the project concentrated on over-development. It

is clear in DWL, AWL and TWE, and that means three quarters of the scheme. Even in DST, the fourth one, all of it concentrates on Western economics. Only one out of eight deals with developing countries! If dialectics between negation and affirmation is maintained in DWL and AWL it fails in DST and TWE. Two RV tried to catch up, namely, "Human development in its social context, a collective exploration" and "Time, culture and development" in order to fill the gap in the study of development. But "Imperialism, the permanent stage of capitalism" comes again to overweigh the balance of overdevelopment.

2. The methodological aspects of the projects has been covered surreptitiously by one late study on "Social indicators of human development". But the tools which make the fourth part of the project (Goals, Processes, Indicators and Tools) fail. Promised semiotic, mathematics, and interregional studies (T.20, 21, 24) also fail. It may be symptomatic that the world tools do not make part in the abbreviation GPID.

3. "Self and society, a study in Gandhian Thought" does not fit in the general scheme of GPID except to strengthen the weak part of development. It betrays some incohenerence in method and vision between international Marxism and national culture based on mysticism. It overlaps with the overwhelming presence of India in SCA, EIG sub-project. It is even a study of a personality not of concept. Gandhian Thought had not been transformed to one of the four GPID sub-projects namely, goals, processes, indicators or tools. Western philosophy was always used as a framework and a system of reference rather than Indian mass and political culture (1). Self and society are essentially two Western concepts belonging to Western dualism. Languagewise, it is written in journalistic terms and images such as lambs and lions, drop and ocean, soil of snack, etc. But the

(1) For instance, references are made to Fichte, p.13, Plato, p.36, Rousseau, p.40, Maritain, p.145, etc. The same Western framework in R. Roy; Human needs and Freedom Liberal, Marxist and Gandhian Perspective, HN, p.191-212.

most important of all is the option offered to developing countries and represented by Gandhian model. In civilization, with tyranny of progress and satanic civilization how could the Third World reject something it has not obtain yet? In ethics, to be lambs not lions, as if Guevara did not succeed in Latin American? What does the people do if violence is imposed by the State? If violence is practiced by the State would revolutionary or counter-violence be illegitimate? Other examples different from Ghandi succeeded as well: China (Mao) Iran, (Khumeini), Vietnam (Hochiminh), Nicaragua (Sandinista) Algeria (F.L.N.). A comparison with other cases based on national culture and traditions, for instance, Senousiya in Libya, Mahdiya in Sudan and the formation of Zaouia or Ribat, or even more classical types such as Muwahhidun or Murubitun would not make Gandhian Thought the only alternative for the Third World. In society, the self is a drop in ocean as if self-affirmation is a crime? In economy, the pursuit of the simple as if poverty and misery are models of simple life, as if mysticism is the solution for Third World problems. Politics are like the coil of the snake! Liberty of the interior precedes the process of sociopolitical liberation which reminds us of the American moral rearmament as a solution to problems that capitalist societies pose. A similar option is proposed in the West by Theillard de Chardin and Jaqcues Maritain as an alternative to Marxism. The Marxist bias which appears in the study of over-development DWL, AWL, TWE, and even of development, DST, disappears. Christianity abandoned by the West is proposed to developing countries as if religion is no more an opium of the people. The severe critique of the West yielding to a high praise of Gandhian Thought, may be considered as a camouflage of Marxist biases. A study of poverty line in developing countries would be useful as the study of poverty of progress

4. GPID is very critical to overdevelopment in particular and to the West in general. The project has negative approach as far as SCA has a positive one. The same negative approach disappears in analyzing developing countries. If all what exist in over-developed

countries are human and social pathologies, how;, they, the West succeeded scientifically, economically and militarily?[1] The Green Movement is not the only alternative group inside super-industrial countries. There are also Peace Movement, Civil Rights, and Black Protest Movement, Anti-consumerism Movement, ...etc. The project became one sided, monolithic, seeing the West with one eye. A counter-project defending the West, greening, facilities, art, abundance, ...etc. can be also justified. This negative attitude was also observed by other evaluation report [2]. Developmentalism was a legitimate reaction against Medieval Fixism and essentialism of Platonic Christianity. It did well in the West specially in the birth of the idea of progress, philosophy of history and the 18th century revolutions. It was also behind Transformism, Darwinism, and evolutionism, in the 19th century. The error is not developmentalism but its applications outside its boundaries, namely, Europe, in the Third World.

5. The two sub-projects DWL/AWL ignored other Centers of industrialization in Asia like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and Hong Kong. These centers could have been the link between DWL/AWL from one side and the NIEO on the other side, since the industrialization of Asia Centers was done by Western accumulated capital with cheap labor, near natural resources and inside vast markets.

(1) The choice is made for human and social pathologies: Such as mind: mental disorder (schizophrenia, psychos, nevrose), addiction to drugs, alcohol, tobacco, suicide; Spirit: a sense of meaningless, alienation. Social such as: Behavioral: withdrawal and observatism, crime, violence; Distributional: injustice, inequality, inequality of opportunity; Structural: inequity, dependency, unemployment; environmental resource depletion, pollution; Cultural: exaggerated acceptance of erogenous culture and rejection of endogenous culture P.P. p.13; all the topics are negatives such as: mortality, violence, homicide, military expenditure, illness, robbery, psychiatric confinement, murder, poverty, malformation, tooth loss, ...etc. All the results are also negative, namely increasing violence, mortality, crimes. ...etc.

(2) "Stating from the assumption that capitalist and socialist ways of development in their present stages cannot resolve problems created by contemporary crisis..." Szczepanski, p.35; The famous book of Spengler is often quoted. There is surprisingly little said about possible policies which could prevent such disaster," p.26.

GPID combines, consciously or unconsciously skepticism and dogmatism. Nothing is left to the West, no other alternatives including NIEO. On the other hand, a Marxist bias appears as a counterpart. Even the Green Movement, the hopeful model of an inside alternative is countered at the end by a Marxist bias [1]. However, GPID is more pessimistic than optimistic in spite of some allusions to optimism [2]. External reporters would see GPID the same huge and colossal aspect as SCA and would hear in it the same slogans of SCA, calling it "verbiage" [3].

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(1) S. Amin: A propose of the Green Movement, DST p.272-81.

(2) Fröbel, Reinrichs, Kreye: Against pessimism, DST, p.121-122.

(3) "However, it seems that during the first phase of analysis the project output became too much to be handled properly by the network machinery established", Rahman, p.31; "I am used to more logical discipline in thinking, more consistency In use of terminology, but it is very difficult to reconcile big number of eminent scholar with disciplines use of terminology", Szczepanski p.42; "There is also a danger inherent in international project namely, that of empty verbalism!" p.3; HDSC in some parts not free from pseudo-philosophical verbalism", p.14.

Structure:
Unity and Diversity

The main dramatic divergence between SCA and GPID is unity and diversity. Both projects come to a crucial point in a dramatic situation, determining the greatness and the limits of each project. It is clear from the beginning, with unanimous agreement between external reports that SCA is a unified project with one vision, one approach, one method and one style. Premises are the same as conclusions. It is extended but flat, one storey stretching building like a spacious factory. GPID, is on the contrary, diversified in method, in style, in approach and even in premises and conclusions. "Let hundred flowers bloom" may be accepted in human science as a primary stage. A second stage would necessary come to find the internal and organic unity between all the parts. GPID is like small cottages in a resort area or a village. Neither SCA nor GPID is a sky-scraper, every storey is leading to the other. Collecting and gathering disparate information horizontally is something and accumulation of knowledge vertically is something else. There is a different sight from ground and from Tower.

GPID is more diversified to the extent that it lost its internal and organic unity. When diversification means different approaches focusing on the same issue it becomes positive. But when it means the loss of direction and focus far away from the original then, it

becomes negative. An example of diversity in method is the analysis of human needs even the subjective ones through logarithms! [1] Diversity in the analysis of needs through mathematical, psychological, sociological, political and anthropological methods is an abandon of sociological method, social planning, social policy, social data, sampling social problems, social research and social change which are openly declared. That is why it is very difficult to pronounce one judgment on GPID being so diversified In methods of analysis, in approaches, in premises and even in results [2]. It is the first time in this paper that the stress and priority in dealing with the two projects are given to GPID which represents the diversity not to SCA which presents the unity. The urgency to unify the diversity is much greater than the urgency to diversify the unity.

1. GPID Books:

It is easy to substantiate the claim of diversity in GPID by analyzing the corpus. GPID production is of two kinds. Books published or forthcoming and Red-cover research papers. Books are 11 and RP are 71 [3]. The 11 books can be classified in five categories diversified in method, approach, style and may be premises and conclusions.

1. DST, TWE, IPSC, are homogeneous in style, in method, in approach, in premises and in conclusions. Every book leads to the other. There is a build-up, an accumulation of results between the three works. The three argue against one enemy. Classical capitalism

(1) The Romanian Team: Mathematical paths in the study of human needs, GPID, 46.

(2) P. Healey: Basic human needs: Methodology and mobilization, GPID, 10.

(3) L. Teck Ghee, S. Marcus, R. Roy, ed.: Learning with the people, Dialogue for development.
- The other six books edited by Antony J.N. Judge by Union of International Associations, Brussels in 1984 (1- Policy alternation for development; 2- Transformative conferencing; 3- From networking to tensegrity organization; 4- Patterns of conceptual integration; 5- Forms of presentation and the future of comprehension; 6- Networking alternation) are not GPID, UNU, publications although conceived within GPID discussion groups. and given the purely professional, mathematical and quantitative approach. See: GPID projects publication plan.

or new one, namely NIEO. A hidden Marxist bias or at least a new left trend occasionally appears, fluid and common to all [1]. The three major books fit in The style is literary, Political economy. They form the heart and the primary trust of GPID.

2. DWL, and AWL, both are case studies based on statistics figures and tables. Both argue against overdevelopment and declare poverty of progress. The Western project: maximum production, for maximum of consumption, for maximum of happiness failed. The two books fit social psychology or applied sociology.

3. VDS, SS, [2] are both representative of utopian thought, one as individual experiences mostly from the West, the other is a case study of Gandhian Thought from the East. Both are written in a human and literary style, readable by a wider public without requiring a high degree of expertise and professionalism. Both fit in ethics or mysticism.

4. HN, HDSC, TCD, the three share the same social scientific approach with some biological, physical and mathematical prolixities. They are theoretical as well as applied. Scientism and quantitative analysis are common dominators. They fit in psychology, social psychology and anthropology. Some are not free from cultural prejudices.

5. SIHD [3] stands alone as a sample of professional and academic work which needs expertise and can be used very well as a textbook in a university course. Only primary chapters on the debate between economic growth and social transformation is related to the main vision of GPID sionalism. Afterwards, all the chapters fall into academic profess. It fits in methodology or measurement. All the books are collected essays except SIHD, the only book written by one, a symptom of the prevalence of diversity on unity.

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(1) Sczcepanski observes also that the concept of development is linked with ideologies and emotions. Sczcepanski, p.16.

(2) Visions of Desirable worlds can be included here.

(3) Learning with the people: Dialogue for development may be here included. The six books edited by Anthony J.N. Judge also fit here.

Diversity is not an ill. On the contrary, it can be an expression of human differences in approaches, styles, methods, perceptions, premises and conclusions. It can be helpful for mutual enrichment in the community of scholars. But here, there are five approaches, each one has his own method of analysis, assumption and style, working independently. None is in the service of the other. None is building up providing the other by solid bases to be build upon or partial results to be completed, or even-providing him with difficulty to be resolved [1]. Neither dependency nor interdependency theories has been practiced between sub-projects but only independency and self-reliance theory! other, GPID books became very diversified and unrelated to each. Each one has its own premises, its own conclusions and its own methods of analyses and language of expression, as if all did not come from the same origin. Through departmentalization and juxtaposition of several sub-projects, the project lost its unity. A whole is divided into parts in order to see it better not to dismantle it. The project ended before being finished [2].

This caused some repetitions to occur. Needs have been classified and reclassified tens of times, once in a book, and another in an RP may be with the same data and by the same author. The same study appears in two places, even in two different books. Each sub-project has its own team. The hundred flowers bloomed in the same garden by the same gardener. This also applies to SCA. By the

(1) Sczcepanski also asks: "Why they (VDS) did not make any use of GPID studies of indicators of development when trying to imagine another type of societies?" p.26; "YDS is more composed of papers written previously before the book edited by Miles and Invie was completed. The studies on poverty of progress do not also make use of studies on human development edited by Mullmann and Nudler" p.23 projects. "Sub-projects will become independent studies not at all linked with unified effort of solutions of main problem," Sczcepanski, p.1, He asks: "Why is it unfair to ask for internal consistency of included studies?" Sczcepanski, p.11 The same question is asked about DWL/AWL. "But it is rather a long way from them to a coherent theory of development which could bring about an effective policy shaping the new ways of live in European countries", p.23.

(2) Abdel Rahman says "The integration was cut short before It was finished," p.3.

force of repetitions it is easy to know who is a GPID man and who is an SCA man [1]. Some repetitions exist in books and red-cover papers such as studies on militarization. The same author has one study on the relation between militarization and development another on global militarization and its remedy [2]. In SCA, this is more clear and common since almost all blue-cover papers are already included in the memographed (EIC,I, TW,I) or read in the International and regional symposia.

One of the reasons of this unhealthy diversity which became a real disparity is that some sub-projects in both SCA and GPID were already ongoing in their institutes or research centers and then connected later as to the projects. In fact, some relation existed between the two subjects especially with such vast projects SCA or GPID which may include everything and exclude nothing. It is normal that it is much easier to begin with already ongoing projects rather than to initiate new ones. In this case, the mother-project has to accept the already ongoing theme, his options, his premise, his methodology and his goals. The mother-project becomes only an umbrella for new projects, serving the network. That is why network and networking are one of the major tools in GPID. According to one ER some scholars had already gathered information regarding their own research. GPID did not create a new body of research but rather collated researches existing already independently[3].

The most astonishing example of diversity in GPID is the comparison and professional and academic analysis. It is the same

(1) For example, 0. Nudler: Time and cultural types: An inquiry into the nature of culture and its various types, in TCD, is the same as, on types of civilization; A comparison through three dimensions, VDS, p.205-244 (245-261); Many red-cover papers such as Galtung's were already published in HN.

(2) H. Seki: Militarization and development, DST, p. 183-201; Global militarization and its remedy, GPID, 11; Also B.A. Khoapa: The African personality, GPID, 25 is also published in HDSC, p.340-368.

(3) Abdel-Rahman observes that the scholar already gathered information for his own research studies, p.5, "The project, then served not to create a totally new body of research, but rather to attract and collates within an intellectual and an organizational scheme efforts which may have been otherwise noted, independent of each other", p. 7-8.

disparity between SS from one hand and DST, TWE, TCD, RDSC, IPSC, HN, DWL, AWL on the other hand [1]. VDS is even more utopian than SS, hopes, desires wishful thought from visionaries as a reaction to poverty of progress. Feuerbach would characterize it as alienation or inauthentic position in the world. Kant would label it as Opium of consciousness" and Marx as "opium of the people." Is the purpose to bring quitetitude and piece to the readers? The beauty of the title appeals to the public in order to swallow mystic alienation and utopian thought. The title is beautiful but the content is mystifying. How this can conform with the Marxist premise in SDT, TWE and IPSC? The content, specially the first part, is a collection of special testimonies of visionaries, individual experiences of consciousness objectors. Visions are something and opinions, views, concepts, trends and attitudes are something else. Desirable and undesirable are psychological concepts not even sociological ones. They express trends and attitudes in the world. Visions are subjective, similar to dreams having its place in psychoanalysis not in political science, while opinions, views or concept are objective, can be dealt with and can be verified as right or wrong. These visions even do not come from the study of societies, social classes or groups as it is the case in DWL/AWL by recognized methods of social science and of fieldworks. They are not even visions of cultures, religions, periods of history or peoples such as SCA sub-project, geo-cultural visions of the world (CA,III), more tied to the ground, lands, peoples, belief-systems and cultures, although the word visions is used in both project. Here GPID and SCA change their respective role, each is playing the other's game. GPID became the Ideal and SC became the Real. VDS is like anecdotes and stories which are completely opposite to the scientific analysis of indicators in SIHD. If alternatives for overdevelopment are dreams, hopes and wishful thoughts of VDS, Marxism would be better. At least, it does not escape from the world and it offers real solutions for poverty of progress.

(1) For the analysis of SS, see III- GPID, A primary Evaluation; positive and negative aspect.

It is well recognized by the authors that VDS is an expression of utopian thought, inefficient and incapable of changing the "bad" West [1]. A symptom of utopian thought is the dialectic between desirable and undesirable, one is the reaction to the other [2]. Evaluation reports have asked always about the scientific method in VDS as if dreams and wishes cannot be analyzed in a more scientific way [3].

Visions of desirable world (VDW) express also hopes of scholars and experts in New International Economic Order based on scientific and political analysis of the actual NIEO. Prophecies done by experts and based on science are much better than common dreamers and visionaries. However, they need power to be implemented and fulfilled. Abraham was followed by Moses, Christ by Mohammed, and Marx by Lenin. Such visions are called scenarios for the First, the Second and the Third Worlds. Two scenarios are likely: The first is the nationalization of free trade and free zone as if the destiny of capitalism is socialism. The second is the division of the world between the First and Third World as if the Third World became the Socialist world since the battle is between Capitalism and Socialism(4). The First World scenario will be the exploitation of internal and external proletariat, the exploitation of nature and tremendous increase of productivity. Capitalism does not change. The Third World scenario is very depressing: quickly increasing

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(1) Vision means "revival of utopian traditions" II VDS, p.126, in B. Van Steenbergen: The Fragility society: A future design for the first world, p.125-141; "This is clearly spelled out utopian thought"; A. Nandy: Towards a Third World utopia, YDS, p. 177-204.

(2) M.C. Botez, M. Celac: Undesirable versus desirable societies, GPID, 66.

(3) Utopian VDS "a collection of ideological essays, but I live long enough to forget my teachers who taught me logical positivism and positivistic conception of science. I can see the importance of such ideological input in the solutions of projects problems, but I would be also more happy to see, that the limit of that importance will be closely drawn". Sczcepanski, p.8.

(4) In Galtung words: 1- A first obvious consequence of the transfer of so much capacity into free industrial production and free-trade zones will be that sooner or later they will be nationalized. 2- The second predicable consequence of all this world be a division of the world into trade blocks, more particularly a Third World areas and a first world. J. Galtung: Global processes and the world in the 1980; Prolegomenon for a GPID world model, GPID, 52, p.12-13. p.59, p.70.

emergence of social pathologies in its westernized parts, the deterioration of level of living of the non-western subsistence parts and other parts playing periphery role! No hope for any body, neither the westernized, nor the non-westernized, nor the peripherals. The fire burns all! (1) Another world model will be closer to VDS than to militarism for which the model was conceived (2).

Diversity in method, in approach and in style appears if VDS is compared to SIHD. What is the relation between utopian thought, subjective experiences of individuals and wishful thought with scientific and objective analyses of social indicators of human development? It is true that indicators are not measurements in order to escape pure quantitative analysis and not simple directing ideals or orientation as it is in the case of SCA but something in between. SIHD would even recognize the dangers of "quantitative social reporting as a technocratic Irrelevancy" (3). Non-quantitative indicators could be: social equity, interregional and international equity, living presence of the future, sensitiveness to the present. References to indicators of territorial systems (local, national and international) of non-territorial system (social organizations) and ecological balance are not dealt with except as a promise in the GPID project description. Only in the beginning of SIHD, there is a description of the debate around GNP as a viable indicator of development which is related to the main intuition in DST (4). GNP omits many important non-market economic activities (5).

It is clear from indicators that development is essentially a socio-economic development. Sometimes indicators appear as only

(1) In Galtung words: 1- The quickly increasing emergence of social pathologies in the Westernized parts of the societies, Western subsistence parts of the societies. 2- The deterioration of the level of living of the non-Western subsistence parts of the societies. 3- The deterioration of the level of those Third World countries that will essentially play periphery roles relative to the Third World countries.
(2) J. Galtung: World conflict formation processes in the 1980, Prolegomenon III for GPID World, GPID, 54.
(3) SIHD,p.6.
(4) J. Galtung: GPID, a project description, p.19.
(5) SIHD, ch.2, p.25-59; The social indicators movement versus the GNP, p.35.

economic in spite of the poverty of conventional economic indicators. An integrated set of socio-economic indicators is the alternative [(1)]. Some times indicators are openly social which fit with the main focus of the whole GPID as expressed in DST [(2)].

If indicators and Tools form the trust of GPID methodology why then are they not used and applied by the rest of GPID major works? Indicators and Tools stand separately as project ***per se*** losing their purposes. Because of this separation, Indicators sank into pure mathematics and model descriptions. It is very clear in the work of Romanian Team [(3)]. The diversity between methodology and research subject came to a point of complete separation and divorce. The horse supposed to lead the carriage went galloping alone leaving the carriage to its inertial. In the same time GPID does not lack constant reflections on methodology [(4)].

2. GPID Research Papers

GPID books are corroborated by 71 red-cover papers mostly all of them are unpublished, on the contrary to SCA 81 blue-cover

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(1) Z. Sadowski: The concept of rationality and the macro-indicators of goal attainment in socio-economic development, GPID, 39; H. Zemelman: Focus problems latent in the construction and use of social-economic indicators and the GPID: An attempt to bring economics back into the church without loosing faith, GPID, 23.

(2) C.A. Mills: On social Indicators and development, GPID, 33.

(3) The Romanian Team: Aggregated social indicators and some theoretical requirements. GPID, 47. The same observation in one of ERs. "The working papers on indicators use of models in development research concerning social and economic development. I do not know they were utilized in discussions and working meetings of various groups." Sczcepanski, p.36; He also observes the diversity between red-cover series and RDSC on the concept of development, socioeconomic or psychological, p.16; 5. Also he says. "I was wondering for what purpose they (SIHD) were written. Another paper on HDSC did not make any use of indicators", p.35. The same observation is made on tools. "I could not find any indicator how these papers (dialogue) will be used in final report and final publications", p.37.

(4) K. Lederer: Needs methodology: The environmental care, HN, p.259-278; Methodological problems of a positivist needs approach, p.261-265; Methodological problems of dialectical needs approach, p.265-273; Environmental-related needs, an attempt towards methodological alternatives, p.273-276.

paper, most of them are published in proceedings or summarized in Report volumes. Most of the red-cover papers are of high scientific qualities and condensed whether they relate to the main topic of development or not.

There is a certain imbalance in the 71 red-cover papers. Quantitative imbalance would reveal also the disparity of the topics and the absence of a liaison bringing them back to the heart of the project. Imbalance can be seen in the sub-projects, in the topics of each sub-project or in the relation between theoretical and applied studies:

1. From the 71 papers, while the half (35) is on goals, the quarter (17) is on processes, a tenth (7) on indicators and a sixth (12) on tools. No wonder that the word "Tools", is dropped from the title of the project, GPID, not GPIT. It is clear that goals are overstretching on processes, indicators and tools. Three quarters of the papers (52) are on goals and processes. The reason for this imbalance can be understandable. From goals processes can be deduced, indicators determined and tools codified. If processes come first, goals are induced, indicators and tools are determined. It is the eternal dispute between the primacy of final cause or material cause (Indicators may be considered the formal cause and tools the efficient cause according the classical theory of four causes).

2. The same imbalance exists between topics in the same sub-project. Some topics may expand on others such as G.4, on AWL (13 papers) and G.2 or needs (11 papers)-at the costs of other topics such as G. 1, concepts of development (4 papers) and 6,5, VDS (2 papers), G. 6, VDW (3 papers). In processes, P.8, expansion and exploitation processes (12 papers) and P.8, liberation and autonomy processes (12 papers, with 7 papers in common between P.8 and P.9) expanding at the cost of P.10, on militarization (1 paper) P.12. Alternative strategies and scenarios (1 paper) and P.11, processes of the NN system (almost none). In Indicators only 1. 15, indicators of non-territorial system is precised the rest (6 papers) is left general

without divisions into topics. In Tools, T,18, on Dialogues (7 papers) stretches over other topics such as T. 23, methods of analysis, (2 papers), T. 19 on Networks, T.22, on forms of presentation and T.24 on interregional studies (each 1 paper and even common).

3. While some topics in sub-projects are expanding such as G.4 (13 papers), G.2 (11 papers), P.8 (12 papers), P.9 (12 papers), and T.18 (7 papers), other topics are completely inexistent such as G.3 on rights, T.20, on semiotics and T.21 on mathematics. A preconceived and formal scheme sometimes does not fit the empirical data. However, mathematics and semiotics are infiltrating in the analysis of paradigms and even overwhelmingly specially in the Rights are alluded to only one time in relation to needs in society [1]. on Romanian theme in the analysis of logarithms of needs the contrary rights in SCA are more present as creative rights for the protection of creativity in the field of science and technology on one hand and in literature and art on the other hand, in developing or developed countries. Political rights are also not forgotten [2].

4. Other sub-projects are not listed in the preconceived scheme but exist as empirical data, the opposite of the previous remark. GPID research work on the future of socialist countries is mentioned as a sub-project although the paper is in P.8/9. One empirical data is disputed between two existing topics in one sub-projects and one inexisting topic and sub-project [3].

5. on the level of conceptual scheme some topics overlap between two sub-projects such as concepts of development (G.1) and theories of developments (P.7). The second one is closer to goals than to processes. The distinction between concept and theory is a very fine and nuanced one, between the idea and the system of ideas. Both concepts and theories deserve a new sub-project distinct from

(1) C.A. Mallman: Society, needs and rights; A systematic approach, N.N., p.37-54.
(2) V. Besarovic: Obstacles Juridique à la créativé intellectuelle endogéne: Belgrade, juin, 1982.
(3) Ed. J. Darecki: The transformation of Poland: Some points of view, GPID, 77.

goals and processes. One of the major trusts in GPID is the revaluation of the conceptual framework of development not only its applications and implementations in different societies.

6. Most of the papers can be put in more than one sub-project. The distinction between sub-projects and even between different topics within one sub-project is artificial and even impossible. That is why such classification is probable. The classifying phrase "may be considered as" is very significant, as if the paper is written first and a place for it in the preconceived scheme is to be found later. 41 papers out of 71 that means more than the half "can be considered as a contribution to ..." probably not certainly [(1)].

7. Some papers fall into one of the sub-projects, G, P, I, or T without internal divisions into topics. All the I papers (7 out of 7) and one T papers are from this sort showing that divisions of the divisions are almost impossible [(2)]. According to the preconceived scheme, Indicators are divided into 5 topics and Tools into 7 topics. (Each of the goals and Indicators are divided into 6 topics) .

8. Some papers may fall into more than one sub-project. For example, one paper may fit G.2 and 1. 13 [(3)] because of methodology on the subject-matter. No sharp limits exist between sub-projects in

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(1) Goals (16 papers), GPID. 4, 6, 8, 7, 9, 160, 10, 21, 43, 42, 45, 44, 16, 18, 20, 51; Process (12 papers). GPID. 36, 12, 37, 11, 1, 34, 60, 55, 5, 32F, 24, 53,; Indicators (6 papers), GPID, 39, 32, 76, 47, 17,; Tools (7 papers), GPID. 59, 3, 48, 13, 40, 69, 65.

(2) D.C. Pitt: The nature and future of development in New Zealand, GPID. 19; 2. Sadowski: The concept of rationality and the macro-indicators of goal attainment in socio-economic development, GPID, 39; K. Valaskakis, 1. Martin; Economic indicators and the GPID: An attempt to bring economic back into the church without loosing faith. GPID, 23; H. Zemelman: Focus problems latent in the construction and use of social-economic indicators, GPID 38; C.A. Mills: On social indicators and development, GPID.33: D. Fischer: Major global trends and causal interactions among them, GPID, 76; The Romanian Team: Aggregated social indicators and some theoretical requirements, GPID 47 (All for 1); A. Naess and D. Dolci: Holism and ecology, G-PID, 61 (for T) .

(3) Papers in G/1 like: M.G. Botez, 1.1. Sisesti, A.M. Sandi, A. Vasilescu: Preliminaries and a comparative analysis of the various view points on the quality of life. GPID, 16. According to the title it is more G than 1.

order that the unity of the project can be created later on. For example a paper an Indicators can be presented in Goals, 6 (VDW) [1]. Three other papers may fit G and T. Critical group size is a methodological concept. It is "the limiting size where growth stops and beyond which, if an entity continues to grow, the growing entity suffers important quantitative change" [2]. Global modeling is more related to Tools than to indicators. The methodological aspect as well as the content are dominated by quantitative analysis more than by the topic itself. Global modellings fits better methods of analysis (T, 23) rather than goals (G.6) or processes, on militarization (P.10) [3]. Sometimes processes of exploitation/expansion, autonomy/liberation appear in Indicators [4].

9. Some papers may fall into two successive topics of the same sub-project proving that separation between topics is impossible, given the primary unity of GPID. If a paper falls in G.4 (AWL) and G.5 (VDS), seven other papers fall in expansion/exploitation processes (P.8) and in liberation and autonomy processes (P.9) [5].

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(1) Z. Sadowski: The concept of rationality and macro-indicators of goal attainment in socio-economic development, GPID, 39; Also D. Fisher: Major global trends and causal interaction among them GPID, 76; Dominant counter dominant trends, p.43-45; Desirable versus undesirable trends, p.45-46.

(2) Such as: Y. Friedman: The quaternary sector, GPID, 18; G. Friedman: About critical group size, GPID, 20, p.l.

(3) M.C. Bolez, M. Celac: Global Modelling ... without models? Theory, methodology and rhetoric in world modelling, GPID, 51; J. Galtung: World conflict formation processes in the 198Os: Prolegomenon III; for a GPID model, GPID, 54.

(4) C.A. Mills: On social indicators and development, GPID, 33: Underdevelopment and problems of major concern for the socio- economic planning processes in Africa, p.6-22; Democratization of the processes of production, p.27-29; p.32-33; the nature and varieties of colonial exploitation, p.10-13.

(5) The paper in G.514 is Y. Friedman: The Quaternary Sector, GPID, 18. All other coming papers fall in P. 819; J. Heinrichs: Development of Unemployment and man power policy in the industrialized countries, GPID, 70; S. Welski: Experiences with a sequence of development strategies: The transformation in Poland, some points of view, GPID, 77 A. G. Frank: Kampuchea, Vietnam, China: Observations and reflections, GPID, 55; T. Farrar: Aspects of the Iranian Revolution, GPID, 15; H. Addo: Approaching the peculiarity of Caribbean plight within the paradox of the representative State in the contemporary world system, GPID, 24; H. Addo: Approaching the NIEO dialectically and transforminally, GPID, 53.

10. The same paper may fall into more than two topics of the same sub-project which minimize the importance of such topic divisions. The generality of the topic prevents its dismantlement into partial topics making up the parts completely insignificative without the whole. It is always the case when methodology becomes separate from the topic, when the horse gallops alone without chariot (1).

11. Some papers are not independent sub-projects like those on food and energy, being parts of basic needs, which are themselves parts of goals. Once the topic belongs to one of one sub-project it does not matter whether it is done within the framework of GPID or as a UN independent project since the paper is published in the red-cover series (2).

12. One paper may fall into one sub-project ***de jure*** but it falls into another sub-project ***de facto***. It is clear that a paper on food, health and sugar falls into needs, a topic in goals rather than it falls into Tools, in spite of its strange combination of food, social cosmology and mental health and its stress on the case of sugar. This shows also how methodology sometimes absorbs topics. The subject is for the method not the method for the subject (3).

13. GPID red-cover papers also show a certain imbalance between theory and practice, between conceptual definitions and case studies. The imbalance is in favor of theoretical studies (45 papers) rather than applied studies (26 papers). The relation between conceptual definitions and case studies is 43:28. The same imbalance exists within every sub-project. In Goals there are more theoretical

(1) A.O.N. Judge: Presentation, comprehension and communication of sets: The role of number, GPID, 22. This paper falls in T,19, 22, 23.

(2) S. George: The hunger problematique and a critique of research GPID, 49; S. George: Issues paper, contributed by the study group of the GPID project, GPID, 2; J. Galtung: Agrarian reform and mal-development: A perspective and some thesis, GPID, 50; V. Bravo, G.G. Mendoza, Lequisa, G.E. Suarez, and I. Syngienman: Capital requirements for water heating: Solar versus conventional reequipment, GPID, 72; The same: A first approach to defining basic energy needs, GPID, 71; Ed. Poleszynski: Issues paper, contributed by the energy study group of the GPID, UNU, GPID, 57.

(3) Ed. D. Poleszynski: Food, social cosmology and mental health.

studies (21 papers) than case studies (14 papers) The relation is 21: 14. In Processes, it is just the opposite given their applied nature. Theoretical studies (6 papers) are much less than applied studies (11 papers). The relation is 6:11. In Indicators all papers are theoretical studies (7 papers) and none is applied. The relation is 7.0. Here the balance lost one of its two sides. In Tools, theoretical studies (11 paper) overweigh again practical studies (1 paper) as in Goals and even more. If the relation in Goals was 45: 26, it is in Tools 11:1.

14. In spite of the balance in case studies between Western countries (14 cases and non-Western 14 cases), Scandinavian countries come forward (5), Eastern Europe (3), Western Europe (3), Roman Empire (2) and New Zealand (1) [(1)]. In the non-Western World Asia comes first (9), Latin America second (4), and Africa third (1) [(2)]. From the Western world Poland is treated twice and the Roman empire twice. From the non-Western World Iran is dealt with three times, Malaysia twice and three countries: China, Vietnam and Kampuchea are in one paper. Classical imperial powers such as Spain, Portugal, England, Belgium or modern hegomic powers such as USA are not dealt with. Western classical Imperialism is covered by five theoretical studies on current development on world economy, global social democracy and the NIEO, dialectical and transformational approach to NIEO, development of unemployment and manpower in industrialized countries, and perspective for development through industrialization, interdependency versus dependency.

15. Some case studies on Western countries are dominated by economism or "politism". In Romania the economic consequences of Romanian integration in the world market leaves two alternatives: national capitalism and central planning. The case of Poland is an

(1) The Western countries are: Norway, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Poland (2), Romania, Austria, France, Italy, New Zealand and Roman Empire (2).

(2) The non-Western World countries are: Malaysia (2), Iran (3), India, Sri Lanka, Japan, (Kampuchea, Vietnam, China), New Guinea, Caribbean and Brazil (Freire 2) and Africa. The name of Japan does not figure in the title.

analysis of July-August strikes which is purely political analysis. The choice of Romania is aimed at showing the danger of the integration of socialist countries into the world capitalist market. The choice of Poland shows the future of socialism without Liberalism which is one of the major ideas of the New Left [(1)]. Historical analysis of Capitalism, the case of Roman Empire, does not spare the analysis of modern capitalistic powers. The case of New Zealand ignores the white settling regime. Half of the cases (7) are on DWL/AWL, namely in social psychology and behavioral science.

16. Regarding non-Western countries, case studies on Asia, Kampuchea, Vietnam, China, Malaysia, Japan or Iran are weak, antagonistic or unrelated to development. The purpose of the study on Kampuchea, Vietnam and China is to show the interrelation between Socialism and Marxism [(2)]. Militarization in Japan is a very scholarly study but unrelated to the rest of case studies and to the question of development [(3)]. The three case studies on Iran are very professional. Most of them began before the revolution (1978-1980), without reflecting on the new situation in Iran. Sometimes allusions to the revolution are made in an unsympathetic way [(4)]. Economism dominates, abstraction made of politics. Western classical methodology is applied whether from the liberal world, the dichotomy rural urban or from Marxism, class-structure and class struggle. The three Iranian case studies fall into historicism or Orientalism. The main directing idea in DST is completely absent. The importance of Malaysian experience is dialogue with the people, i.e., mass-participation in the processes of development [(5)]. In Latin

(1) S. Welzk: Experiences with a sequence of development strategies. The case of Romania, GPID, 60; Ed. J. Danecki: The transformation in Poland, some points of view, GPID, 77.

(2) A.G. Frank: Kampuchea, Vietnam, China: Observations and reflections, GPID, 55.

(3) H. Seki: Global militarization and its remedy, GPID, 11.

(4) M.H. Haeri, M. Taghi Farvar: Traditional rural Institutions and their implications for development planning. Studies from Hamadan province of Iran, GPID, 34: M.T. Haeri: Economic develepic and the village In Iran: Prospects for an alternative approach, GPID, 35.

(5) L.T. Ghee, N.S. Nye: Working towards meaningful dialogues: The Malaysian experience, GPID, 3.

America case studies, the analysis of village projects and rural development in New Guinea is very specialized as if it was an independent work, not a part of a sub-project processes in GPID. It is made according to stereotype Western criteria of case studies while the conclusions are related to development in general [1]. The analysis of Caribbean case is based on a theory of State, a main key-concept in SCA. The state in SCA is neither quantitative, small or big, nor essentially in space, but qualitative, a historical State stretching in time. USA is a big State but has no depth in time. Japan and Egypt are small in space but are stretching in time. In spite of the analysis of State in historical perspective, the depth in time is neglected for the sake of surface in space [2]. Finally, African personality is considered as social context for development [3].

3.GPID Pendulum Swing:

Another symptom of diversity is the GPID Pendulum swing between formal analysis of paradigms and models on one side and empirical data of case studies on the other hand, a continuous swinging between dogmatism and skepticism, between puritanism and materialism, between utopianism and realism, between liberalism and Marxism, between individualism and collectivism, between optimism and pessimism, etc. Formal analysis would appear in epistemology of holism, descriptions of patterns and paradigms and constructions of models. The whole is a paradigm and the level of perception. It sacrifices the parts for the sake of the whole as in ***Gestalt*** theory. The whole is an independent entity not composed atomism, a thinking from the more comprehensive to the less, a widening concept of society including animal liberation movement. It

(1) J. Wak: Village based projects and rural development in Kala village, Papua New Guinea, GPID, 5.

(2) H. Addo: Approaching the peculiarity of the Caribbean plight within the paradox of the representative State in the contemporary world system, GPID, 24, p.6-12.

(3) B. A. Khoapa: The African personality, GPID, 25; Also, G.A. Mills: On social indicators and development, GPID, 33: Under-development and problems of major concern for the socio-economic planning process in Africa, p.6-22.

is more like Spinoza ***Deus sive Natura*** and the active understanding going back to Descartes intuitionism and classical sciences. Systems and human sciences are open and interwoven. An the same time, holism aims at finding a place an the long front of action. A sophisticated holism contains a whole strategy [(1)]. GPID also looks for paradigms such as success versus maturity growth or organizational paradigm for development [(2)]. On the contrary SCA would criticize paradigms when it comes to ready-made ideologies even Marxist paradigm, looking for alternative paradigm [(3)]. At the same time, and parallel to formal analysis, GPID initiates inter-paradigmatic dialogue, for example, East-West, North-South, Christian-Marxist to prove interdependence of mankind and the relation between scientific revolution and social science. The dialogue purpose is to listen to the voice of the voiceless against holism and formal models. Dialogues implies political dimension. Mathematization of ideas has always its victims [(4)]. The same pendulum appears between analysis of patterns simultaneously with social dynamics. An analysis of number sequences of a system such as polarity, relatedness, repetitions structure would include subsistence, professionality, individuality, creativity, domination and aristocracy as if we are dealing with key-concepts of SCA [(5)]. There are patterns of basic needs and even meta-models which can be conceived by Logarithm![(6)] Models in GPID contain structures as well

(1) A. Naess, D. Doki: Holism and Ecology, GPID, 61; The primacy of the whole, p. 1-9; O. Nudler: Notes for an epistemology of holism, GPID, 13; Also, O. Nudler: Human needs: A sophisticated holistic approach, HN, p.131-150.

(2) T. Barreiro: Towards a model of human growth; IV presentation of two paradigms: Success versus maturity growth, HDSC, p.67-71; Ch. F. Alger: The organizational context of development: Illuminating paths for wider participation, GPID, 17, p.9-12.

(3) W.F. Haung: Economy and Culture in Marxism, a critical reexamination of Its paradigms of articulation; S.C. Dube: Modernization and Development, search for alternative paradigms, C.A. IV.

(4) K. Mushakoji: Scientific revolution and inter-paradigmatic dialogues, GPID, 14.

(5) Annex 1, example of an elaboration of a number-based sequence of systems, HN, p. 302-307; Also, comparison of two generic patterns in public decision-making, in M. Chevalier: Need-based decision making. HN p.329-341.

(6) A.N.J. Judge: Needs communication: Viable needs patterns and their identification. HN, p.271-312; Outline of a meta-model, p.281-285.

as processes. They are models without modeling [1]. Models exist as realities not as abstract constructions. There is a Western model of development as well as an indigenous model, a Socialist model and a "humanistic" model ...etc [2]. There are models for food-system and other models for alternative ways of life [3]. Models are concrete realities translated into numbers on our predicament [4]. Finally, there is a tension between theory and practice, between formal analysis and empirical data, between conceptual definitions and case studies. There are quantitative analysis, matrix, coded numbers and calculation of needs [5]. GPID pendulum appears also in the tension between skepticism where all alternatives are negative and dogmatism where the undeclared bias is the only positive. In the same time, there is utopian thought and Marxism, puritanism of VDS and materialism in the analysis of needs. Reality is lost between utopianism in VDS/VDW and skepticism and negativity in DWL/AWL/TWE. The method is lost between Ideological analysis in DST/TWE/IPSC and professionalism and academism in SIED/HEDSC/TCD. The same

(1) M.C. Bolez, Mariane: Global modeling ... without models? Theory, methodology and rhetoric in world modeling. GPID, 51; I- Global models, some suggestions for comparative analysis, p.4-18 II- New directions in global modeling: A few suggestion, p.19-27; III- The process of global modeling, some structural characteristic, p.28-59; IV- A proposal: Participative global modeling, p.60-62.

(2) O. Nudler: On the development concept and contemporary Ideological system; dominant models of human development: The State Socialist model, in HDSC, p.8.28; T. Barreiro: Towards a model of human growth, HDSC, p. 31-84; M. Friberg, B. Hettne, G. Tamm: Societal change and development thinking, an inventory issues, GPID, 6. p.10-34.

(3) S. George: The hunger problematique and a critique of research, GPID, 49, p.27-30; F. Mahler: Alternative ways of life: An approach from the view point of the reproduction/change theory, p.4-8.

(4) J. Galtung: Global processes and the world, 1980s. Prolegomenon I for a GPID world model, GPID, 52, p. 1-4; Also, world conflict formation processes in the 198Os: Prolegomena III for A,GPID world model, GPID, 54.

(5) HN, IV: Application of needs approach to practice, p.255-341. Mysticism and skepticism may express the dominant spirit in the West; "The West therefore presents a curiously truncated picture with on the one hand a plethora of academic, more or less practical, holistic utopias and on the other hand perplexing variety of counter-movements with rather alternatives, simple living alternatives"; M. Friberg, B. Hettne, G. Taum: Societal change and development thinking, an inventory of issue, GPID, 6, p.30.

tension exists between optimism in VDS/VDW and pessimism in DWL/AWL/TWE/IPSC. If idealism in SCA is a moral obligation and commitments to cultures, peoples and the world, idealism in GPID is puritanism alienation, a cover-up of ideological bias or pessimism and skepticism about the lost harmony in GPID (1).

4. SCA Monolithism

The concentration on GPID diversity to bring it back to its unity is much more urgent than to diversify SCA. Indeed, SCA is homogeneous and monolithic. It is exempt of all internal contradictions and tensions. The General is able to absorb all contradictions and cancel all oppositions. SCA became flat, stretching in time, regions and cultures. Concept of specificity by the power of its universality lost its specificity. Endogenous creativity as a key concept is used in the same way in the five regions without specificity. In Asia it needs a State, in Latin America it requires political power, in Africa it is implemented by Art, etc. Transformation of the world does not go in the same in direction in different regions. The desire of unity sacrificed the need for diversity. Hegel would call it formal unity by opposition to material unity, rich and full of contradiction. In SCA, the synthesis comes before the thesis and the antithesis. Dialectics are already solved. The end is the beginning, the conclusions are the premises. If GPID was "dialogue de sourds" SCA is a monologue, the sound and its own echo. There are no major studies on the opponents: sterility, erogeneity, fixism and stability. Their exclusion is done by one knock-out. While in GPID the art of war is fencing, in SCA it is bombing. While tactics in GPID is maneuvering and surrounding, tactics in SCA is facing. While the weapon in GPID is the sword, the weapon in the 13 heart volumes of SCA are International or SCA regional symposia is the shield. A paper in a conference is usually

(1) According to Abdel-Rahman there are two problems in GPID: 1- harmonization; 2- absence of a joint effective machinery of follow-up and resolutions of tensions, ER. p.4.

written hastily, rhetorically and occasionally. A book is more mature, stable and solid. The pressure of time in a paper is different from the lengthy time in a book. Repetitions of the major themes are common. Meetings are important in interchanging ideas and reciprocating views but not for the foundation of a vigorous science. The same remark also applies to GPID (1).

However, the proceedings, that means the original papers in folio, can give an accurate description of the original thoughts and ideas of scholars. Although scholars are sympathetic to each other, forming one homogeneous theme, at least the counter-point is exposed via the point. Only two proceedings were published (EIC,I, TW,I), memographed as if they do not deserve printing!

Volume Reports, summarizing the proceedings can never be an alternative to the proceedings themselves. The way of summarizing ideas, selecting some texts, and paraphrasing others is full of gaps. The subject matter instead of being a subject of study becomes subject of interpretation, choices and styles of volume report editor. It does not carry any more the original opinions of contributors. The volume becomes secondary literature not first source. It drops all divergences and opposing view points, relatively existing to concentrate only on convergences and identic views by the power of synthesis. The structures of original papers are lost, reduced to non-structured ideas. That is why all sub-titles are dropped, only the paper title is kept as the theme, head without body. The editor's work is indeed like montage in cinema. Though montage, he can say more than the scenarist, the producer and even the novelist or story writer by the art of decoupage and recollage. Since the editor is usually sympathetic to the coordinator the volume report expressed the coordinator's views substantiating them.

(1) Large scientific conferences are criticized as "market places" to expose "research goods" for any one who cares to look or buy, Abdel-Rahman, p.6; Some papers are presented only by titles because of over-burding, p.7; They (the authors) spend too much time traveling and in meetings and find no time left for actual studies and thinking .... rituals devoid of careful reflection and creativity, p.7.

However, in this homogeneous corpus and overstretching project sometimes some dissonance appear whether in quantity or in quality. Quantity-wise, sometimes it is difficult to classify some RR in sub-projects such as rural development which is closer to GPID, a partial subject and a level of analysis which does not correspond SCA total vision and the cultural approach [1]. Quality-wise and in the tide of public relations calling for famous names regardless of the coherence of their ideas with the ensemble of SCA, a negation of Islamic vision of the world "from the other side of the river" would not fit with the whole aim of SCA which is the affirmation of such vision. How can a cultural permanence in history expressing the continuity of the tradition be denied? How can a rejection of the past be possible when "retour aux sources" is behind every cultural renaissance? Criticism of Islamic fundamentalism without understanding its reasons is a pure Western, secular and ideological attitude, not a historical and a scientific analysis of the movement. The rejection of Islamic law, the call for secularism and the denial of the unity of the Umma vehemently defended in SCA are counter-positions not divergences. The criticism of Al-Afghani, the founder of Reformist Movement is similar to criticism made by Marxist, Christian and secular modern thinkers eradicating peoples and cultures from their roots and origins. The criticism of the reformers that their theories are distinct from their actions, even if it is true, does not apply to the reformers only but to every human being. It aims only at discrediting reformist movement, the legitimate link between tradition and modernity. The opposition between them as two exclusive alternatives is a Western model. The slogan "to be authentic one must choose" is contrary to the continuity of history. The comparison between Islam and Christianity would deny the types of religions and history of civilizations. Such a comparison takes one side, Christianity, as yardstick to the other side, Islam, denying specificity and falling into

(1) INEAP: Development rural et catégories intellectuelles: Le cas de la revolution agraire en Algérie; B. Ribes: Pour une étude de la transformation des structures familiales en milieu urban, SCA, RR.

Euro-centricity and Westernization vehemently criticized in SCA. Accusing Islamic vision of being idealistic while practice requires realism away from Islamic ***Schwämerei*** is ignorance of Islamic realism and an imitation of Western model and history regarding the opposition between theory and practice. A different view is not diversity or an opposite view but is essentially a dissonant note [1]. Organizationalwise, another SCA dissonant note is the participation of Israel in Europe and North America in EIC, V as mentioned in Final Report.



(1) Abdul Rahman Badawi: Can there be a specifically Islamic vision of culture today? CA,III; A Christian-Marxist-Secular thinker is like Louis Awad who published lately several articles in Altadamun Magazine in Paris discrediting Al-Afghani as a Reformer. The other criticism, the separation between theory and practice, comes from Ali Mazuri. Anisuzzaman is more authentic in his defense of Islamic vision of the world than Badawi. Other scholars and even friends of the coordinator and part of his network but have not the same fame affirming Islamic world vision are more eligible.

Divergences between SCA And GPID

Since the comparison between two things can be seen as two cleavages of the same mountain, converging upwards and diverging downwards, the divergence between SCA and GPID, can be in scope, vision, method, perception, priority, focus, level, orientation or temperament. Divergences are only a matter of stress, of accent and of preference. The diptych does not mean that every project falls completely in one pole and the other project falls in the other pole. It means only a tendency, an accentuation, an overweight or a preponderance of a pole on the other. Divergences do not mean exclusiveness but it includes the two divergent things. A divergence is still a convergence upside down.

1. Scope: The Ideal and The Real.

SCA is attached to the ideal, to the ***Sein-Sollen***. It describes realities as they should be. That is why it is full of recommendations, suggestions and proposals [1]. Words such as "Orientations" are very much used. SCA is attached to an ethical code of thought and action, to a moral value embodied in culture. It describes an ideal type of development and social change, endogenous, creative, popular as well as "***Etatique***". SCA is a ***Bedurfnis*** for every society and culture

(1) For example, EIG, IV J.F. Ade Ajoyio: Promoting IC in Africa.

to live and to develop in historical continuity. While GPID is more attached to the Real, dealing with more concrete issues, describing different political options, presenting economic analysis, depending on case studies and standards of living. However, an Ideal can yield for case studies and real description of societies. A Real can yield also to an ideal description of development as a type, a model or a paradigm (1). Culture appears in cultural circles, cultural circles appear in societies and societies are case studies (SCA descendant way). Societies develop, development occurs according to models and models may need global modeling (GPID ascendant way) (2). Sometimes in GPID utopian thought appears, with ***Sein-Sollen*** "what is and what should expressed in a story. GPID may prescribe remedies giving recommendations to prevent global militarism (3).

This divergence reflects itself again in scope between the General and the Particular. SCA begins by the general and even the most general as if the whole world is at hand. In medieval philosophy God knows only Universals not the Particulars. GPID is a special case, that of development, one particular which God ignores! The general cannot be attained except by principles to lay the grounds for the particulars as applied principles. Case studies in SCA intend to show the Figurization of the general in the particular, not an empirical analysis of the particular ***per se***. The case study is just the carrier of a universal principle, a substratum for the Ideal (4). In SCA there is a realization of the Ideal while in GPID there is an idealization of the Real.

It was then natural that SCA tends more towards macro-analysis: continents, cultures and areas in global vision of the world since realities are different modalities of the universal. A dominant

(1) D. Polezynski: "Norway does not stand out as an Ideal; Negative and positive side of Norwegian, an Empirical Assessment of Over- development, GPID, 26, p.1.

(2) M.C. Botez, M. Celec: Undesirable versus Desirable Societies, GPID, 6 , p.1-3.

(3) "Remedies from a Local Perspective, Mallmann FR. p.55-59; H. Seki: Global Militarism and its Remedies GPID,11.

(4) The importance of case studies in creativity is stressed in EIC, II, P.10.

theme in SCA is the description of historical development of cultural circles, Asian, Arab-Islamic and Latin American. GPID, on the contrary, tends more towards micro-analysis. DST is a reflection on the global problematic but applied in particular topics such as: Atlantic alliance, militarism, Green Movement, ...etc (1). Sometimes GPID switches from micro to macro in the analysis of human development. GPID divided its task force to three groups: Group A on human development on micro-societal level, group B on social groups on intermediate societal level and group C on systematic and global development on macro societal level (2). SCA rarely went to any micro-analysis of any culture even a case study. Consequently, SCA is a synthetic vision of the world, global view of culture, society and history while GPID is an analytical vision in order to discover the primary elements behind every structure. DWL and AWL are analyzed as case studies even without a counter-effort to synthesize.

In social science, it is very difficult to make a distinction between the Ideal and the Real, between the general and the particular, between macro and micro analyses, between synthesis and analysis, briefly between ***Sein*** and ***Sein-Sollen***. Facts are values and almost the same. Is the distinction in GPID in development between under-development, over-development and mal-development a fact judgment or a value-judgment? Cultural circles in SCA are they fact-judgments or value-judgments? It is misfortune or good-luck that GPID was conceived in the beginning of UNU program in HSD to be the UR-project under which all other projects including SCA become sub-project? GPID was like Adam and SCA like Eve. During the process, the preconceived order is converted and the two projects interchanged their respective roles. SCA became the whole

(1) For instance; obstacles to AWL at the micro-level, AWL p.74-78; Development inside-out or (better) in not turning development outside in the first place, RDSC, p.103-137; 2. Sadowski: The Concept of rationality and the Macro-indicators of Goal Attainment in Socio-economic Development, GPID, 39.

(2) Abdel-Rahman ER questions the division of GPID task force to these groups, Rahman, p.24; Also The micro-macro problem, Mallmann R. P.55-59; CH.VI.

and GPID the part. Such a conversion can be understood in human destiny and in religious history [1].

2. Vision: Transcendence and Immanence.

Both SCA and GPID analyze time but for two different purposes and two opposite directions. While SCA analyses time to reach Transcendence, GPID analyses time to discover its immanence in the individual (psychological time), in nature (physical time), in the body (biological time), in number (mathematical time), in society (social time) or in culture (cultural time). In SCA, Transcendence is the highest ideal, individuals, societies and cultures are tending to. Analysis of time and time ***tempi*** has one purpose, discovering Transcendence [2]. In GPID, the analysis of time, physical, mathematical, biological, psychological, social or cultural aims at discovering time in the process of development. In SCA the desire of Eternity is a transforming factor of the world while in GPID, the feeling of time is a developing factor of society [3]. While in SCA time is a human and cultural dimension, time in GPID is a need similar to a biological need. Needs are the major in Goals (G.2). If time leads to Transcendence, Transcendence in this case becomes also a need such as living (subsistence, security), living together (belongingness, esteem), growth (development, renewal), imperfection (Transcendence, maturity). Transcendence is a sign of growth as maturity. If Transcendence is a primary need in SCA congruent to human soul, it is in GPID a third need appearing only in maturity [4]. In GPID, Transcendence sometimes

(1) SIHD, Forward by Dr. K. Mushakoji, p. VII.

(2) Transcendenece and Immanence, SCA, FR., p.44-46; B. Ribes: The Resurgence of Transcendence, SCA Reader, 9; T. Bruneau: Time and historical tempi; EIG, V, A. Szalai: Temporal dimensions of growth, development and progress: Conflicting notions of historical time; TW, IV, Section , Time, history and Transcendence. 2-T. Bruneau: The temporal transformation of the World; S.L. Zea. Transcendence and transformation of the World; G. N. Nassar: La Transformation du monde et le conflit des Transcendences.

(3) Ed. C.A. Mallmann, O. Nudler: Time, Culture and Development; C.A. Mullmann: Human life time, time views and development process.

(4) A. Heller: Can time and false needs be posited? in HN, p.213-226; P. Healy: Basic Needs: The Politics of Mobilization, GPID, 9, p.9.

is used in a psychosocial sense, and means going beyond but within the limits of immanence for the sake of social adaptation [1].

Both SCA and GPID connect time to space. In SCA time and space together are essential factors in the formulation of a scientific view of the world. GPID formulated the notion of chrono-space just for social action and development [2]. However, the analysis of mathematical and physical time in GPID becomes irrelevant in the process of development. It is only an aspect of scientific and quantitative analysis [3]. Biological and psycho-physiological time, body rhythm and organic cycles are still irrelevant to psychosocial and cultural time as if Bergson never existed, since no allusion was made to his perception of pure time, ***la durée***. Psychological time relates to the feeling of time, individually, socially and culturally. Since time is related to consciousness, the study becomes more human, social and cultural than scientific.

In GPID, time becomes relevant to development when it comes to social and cultural analysis of time. Sometimes, the analysis of time aims at discovering temporal levels in the social process in order to integrate temporarily in social modeling. Temporal levels are due to division of labor. Labor is the demarcation line between social classes. However, sociological analysis yields in its vocabulary to literary expressions similar to "Self and Society, Study on Gandhian Thought", such as: Alliance of eros, bastardism of language, ...etc [4].

In GPID, the analysis of social time is done in relation to subservience of nature. According to this relation there are three types of societies: societies with a low degree of control over nature,

(1) O. Nudler: The Development-Adaptation Dialectic; Transcendence Over Adaptation, HDSC, p.190-210.

(2) CA, 3; A. Peters: The parity of representation of Space and Time as an essential premise for a scientific view of the World; K. Valaskakis: The concept of the chrono-space and its implications, TCD, Section I, CH.IV; I. Sacks: Time space of development.

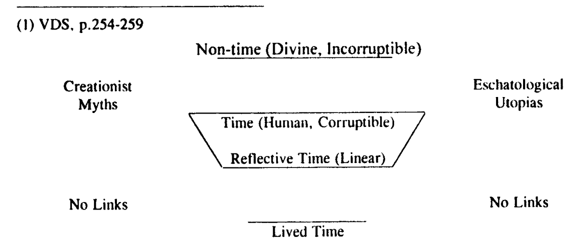
(3) S. Marcus: The social and cultural relevance of mathematical, Physical and psychological time, TCD, p.38-78 p.317-339.

(4) J.T. Fraser: Temporal levels in social process, of Temporality in Social Modeling, TCD p.151-187.

societies with a high degree of dependency control over nature and societies in an ecologically integrated relationship with nature. The criteria of this typology is the criteria between human or lived time and the non-time or reflective time, namely the relation between immanence and Transcendence as it is formulated in belief-systems regarding doctrines of creations and eschatological utopias. Societies believing in a link between human and corruptible time and Divine incorruptible time project doctrines of creations and resurrection and have a low degree of control on nature. On the other side, societies believing in no link between lived time and reflective time do not project such doctrines, and consequently have a high degree of control on nature. The first concept of time is cyclic, the second is linear. That means to say that control over nature is conditioned by Atheism! Such conclusion would be in complete opposition to SCA position considering traditions and belief-systems capable of transforming peoples and cultures [1].

The analysis of time becomes more relevant when it comes to cultural time, time in different cultures and development styles. Cultures can be even classified according to types of time [2]. Cultural holism would neglect time as a link between theory and praxis, between views of the world and individual and mass

(1) VDS, p.254-259



(2) O. Nudler: Time and Cultural types: An Inquiry into the Nature of Cultures and its Various Forms, TCD, p.188-234; On Nudler: On Types of Civilizations, a Comparison Through Three Dimensions, VDS, p.245.

behavior. Culture, as well as time is not a linear system. It has its cycles, coming and returning. Both culture and time are processes. What matters in the analysis of types of culture (natural, constructed, dependant and antagonistic) is not the scientific description ***per se*** but the impact of these types on human and social development. The analysis of cultural time becomes more serious when it comes to anthropology. Some losses may generate from the analysis of immanent time, which is the fall into national characters based on social prejudices, if not in intention and essence, but at least in vocabulary and appearance as black culture or time versus white culture or time. It is more wise to use regional terms such as African culture versus Western Culture because white culture would be obviously blasphemy. Similarly, black time is a blasphemy such as white time is. In fact, characteristics of "black time" are closer to characteristics of behavior of social groups and social classes (poor and oppressed) in every society and culture such as: respect for variations in subjective perception, unimportant limits to polarity, priority of person to person center, fusion of play into work, ...etc [1]. Characteristic of "black time" are modes of behavior and value-conduct of underdeveloped societies and of poor classes and oppressed communities due to unemployment and absence of purpose regardless of culture or race. If "Blacks" felt more racial discrimination than whites that is because they suffer the most. The oppressed feel the oppression more than the oppressor [2]. Black communities are not different from white hippy groups and white communes in considering ritual as distribution of force, sexuality as creation of the force, dance as myth of the movement of the world, speech as medium for communication between the living and the dead. All communities in such social conditions share the same behavior regardless of culture or race: Persistence of ritual calling and sacrifice of gifts to a reciprocatory spirit or deity, rhythmic behavior as an integral part of religion in such forms as dancing, clapping, swaying or antiphonal

(1) E.B. Green: Time Conflicts and Black Cultures; in TCD, p.236-237.
(2) A. Jeaniare: Time and Socio-cultural Change in Western Culture, TCD, p.299-316.

response known as call-and-respond, refusal to denounce or ignore sexuality as a legitimate concern of religion, address to the spirits and exhortationist presumably received from them through some enlightened speaker, ...etc [1]. There are no permanent characteristics of "Black time" since feeling of time is linked to culture and culture is historical culture. There is no one Africanism but several by the Brazilians, the Caribbeans and the "Black" Americans. Africanism is a culture not a race since it extends beyond its societies. Since "Black" time is subject to influences of rationalization, substitution, displacement for blame, pressure, diffusion of responsibility, since time is acquired and a product of religions, politics, groups, training, etc. and even historical stages of every society then it changes. Historical stages in Africa is much deeper in time than a prehistorical and a pre-slavery stage and a post historical and post-slavery stage.

If the study of "Black time" was colored by some racialism the study of time in Western culture, namely Western or "white time" is done historically in the framework of socio-cultural change. A history of Western culture dealing with time since middle ages: Clocks, puritan ethics, ascending time, historical time, objective time bought and sold, secular time for growth of production, work time, personal time, is not specifically related to the West but exist in every culture. Besides, the West is not a homogenous society. The North-West and South-East (North Germany and South-Italy) or the West and the East are different in feeling and in the use of time. The rich West and the poor West, the upper-class West and the lower-class West, both are also different in the feeling of time. Class analysis of time is completely absent. Societies and cultures are taken as entities which is compatible with some Marxist bias in GPID.

3. Method: Intuition and Inference.

Since the scope in SCA is the General, the Principle and Transcendence are what intuition can perceive. Imagination sometimes

(1) TCD, p.266-267.

comes into help to reorganize the whole world. Revolutionary imagination, dogmas, schemas, fantasies, etc. are necessary for intellectual creativity [1].

In SCA primary meeting report, a more articulated methodology was proposed, such as: Needs (food, shelter), life (family, sexuality) social order (power, state), time (religion, philosophy, ideology (culture). It ended in the FR only to meaningful comparatism [2]. GPID, on the contrary reflects, infers and demonstrates. It represents a certain kind of intellectual exercise, a dialogue with the opponent: NIEO, Developmentalism, Imperialism, and refutes its arguments, unveiling its hidden discourse, peeling the "onion" till it smells from the inside. A word such as reflection appears all the time in GPID, even in the main titles [3]. In GPID, theories, theoretical approaches. and thinking are dealt with. GPID reviews development thinking and makes inventory of issues, surveying trends in development thinking in the West and in developing countries [4]. SCA deduces its results from its premises and social axioms. If the data sometimes is incoherent or insufficient, the conclusions are still maintained. GPID is more inductive. From partial results it obtains a whole concept of development as social transformation. Different conclusions can be argued and verified as right or wrong. SCA may be more reflexive, close to an intellectual exercise on human problems, while GPID is more experimental based on statistics and figures. The quality of the spirit does not require the quantity of the

(1) EIC, II, R.F, Retmar: Revolutionary Imagination and IC: The example of Jose Marti; L.G.Y. Aragon: Dogmas, Schemas and I.C., G.G. Marquez: Fantasy and I.C., EC, V, E. Boulding: The Social Imagination and the Crisis of Human Futures: A North-American Perspective; A.N. Pandeya: Imagination, Insight and Understanding: Reflections on the Culture of Science in a Changing World, TW, 1, p.25-31.

(2) PMR, p.5; p.8-10.

(3) DST, Reflections on the Global Problematique; G.Aseniero: A Reflection on Developmentalism, DST, p.48-85; H. Addo: Beyond Euro-Centricity; A case of reflection, DST p.12; A manner of reflection, p.14; S. Amin: Réflexions sur la Théorie de l'Imperialisme, GPID, 325; G. Rist: Development Theories in the Social Looking-glass: Some reflections from theories to development, GPID, 4.

(4) M. Friberg, B. Hettne, G. Tamm: Social Change and Development Thinking, an inventory of issues, GPID, 6, Ed. K. Lederer: Part I; Theoretical approaches to Needs, p.15-125; The Romanian Team: Aggregated social indicators and some theoretical requirements, GPID, 47.

body [1]. In GPID theories are sometimes experimented in society and tested in the processes of development for an empirical choice between theories [2]. A combination can occur between reason and experience, between reflection and observation but an oscillation is still going on between theory and experimentation [3]. GPID tried to give provisional definitions of development, an empirical choice of theories but finally stood for a typology [4]. However, some statistics and experimental data is given in SCA on world economic growth, selected indicators and GPID would describe a typology of intellectuals in response to current world crisis [5]. SCA also would argue with its opponents: exogeneity, dictatorship, inertia: Exogeneity is anti-endogeneity, dictatorship is anti-people and political rights, inertia is anti-vitalism and creativity, just by the negation of the opposite without entering in a vast and long dialogue as GPID does with its opponents [6].

4. Perception: Specificity and Universality.

The key-concept in SCA is Specificity. A whole part of CA is given to it (CA, 2). PR. [7]. It is a dominant tool of research from

(1) For example, DWL; AWL; TWE, p.97-118; Also; What is an Upper-class Way of Life? An empirical excursion, in B. Roos,; J.P. Roos: The Upper-class Way of Life: An Alternative for What? GPID, 68 p.9-18; D. Poleszynski: Negative and Positive Sides of Norwegian L.S.; An empirical assessment of development, GPID, 26.

(2) The empirical choice is done between: 1- The classical/marginalist model (W.A. Lewis), 2- The evolutionist model (W.W. Rostow), 3- A liberal view, development for man (F. Peroux).

(3) A. G. Frank: Kampuchea, Vietnam, China: Observations and Reflections, GPID, 55; Elucidation of the concept-empirical reference relationship to indicators, In: H. Zemelman: Focus Problems Latent in the Construction and use of Social Economic Indicators, GPID, 38, p.11-13.

(4) Some provisional theories such as: production/distribution, structures, culture and ecological balance, GPID, 4, p.10. G. Rist: Development Theories ....

(5) EIC, V, Table 2, p.29; K. Mushakoji: Theoretical Framework of Analysis: A typology of intellectuals in response to the current world crisis (Sophia).

(6) EIC, II. Section V; Analysis of Obstacles to Intellectual Creations; E. Oteiza: Dictatorships an IC; J.L. Dominique: Vitality or Force of Inertia?; F. Olen: Political Rights and Intellectual Creation; E. de Ipola: Political Discourse and Politics of Discourse; L. Edmondson: Intellectual and Cultural Creativity in the English Speaking Caribbean: Obstacles and Changes.

(7) PMR, p.3, p.5; FR, p.6-8; A. Abdel-Malek: The Concept of Specificity, Positions, SCA, 7; TWII, p.3.

PMR till FR specificity is equal to endogeneity, condition of creativity. While GPID describes NIEO on a global level in the era of multinational corporations. What happens in Africa happens in Asia and in Latin America as well. The capital has no land, people, nation or culture. In SCA, specificity is equal to subjectivity in individual action and in historical initiative. Culture is a living subject, a combination between vitalism and historicism. The interior is the endogenous, which is also the source and the origin, the exterior being the exogenous and the branch. GPID is more tended towards the objects: development, social transformation, NIEO, Imperialism, etc. SCA is more introvert while GPID is more extrovert. SCA follows Saint Augustine's ***In interiore homine habitat veritas*** while GPID follows J. Locke ***Tabula Rasa***. SCA explores all the potentialities of peoples and cultures, analyzing in depths powers of creativity. The potential is more present and active than the actual [1]. GPID describes realities even behind apparent and false changes such as NIEO. The actual is seen, detectable and measurable. However, in SCA since specificity is applicable to every society and culture it becomes a universal tool. That is why it is always connected to universality. GPID rejects holism which denies specificity and particular situations. Holism means pervasiveness [2]. GPID would call specificity peculiarity, a word which is more economic than cultural [3].

Since culture is changing in a changing world in SCA and society is transforming through development in GPID the direction of change in SCA is more towards the discovery of the past, the historical dimension in every culture namely the Tradition, while the direction of change in GPID is more towards the future. Specificity is a discovery of the past. It is a historical specificity, generating a

(1) Y. Marai: The Potential for Self-reliant Development in Indonesia (Sophia).

(2) K. Valaskakis; I. Martin: Economic Indicators and the GPID: An attempt to bring economics back into the church without loosing the faith, GPID, 23, p.1.

(3) H. Addo: Approaching the Peculiarity of the Caribbean Plight within the Paradox of the Representative State in the Comtemporary World-system, GPID, 24.

whole civilizational dynamics [1]. The future in GPID is more like futurology, perspectives and possible scenarios for the three worlds, specially of the first world on which GPID is concentrating. The future of the first world is frugality: Limits of growth, more independence for the Third World, insufficiency of external pressures [2]. This future can be more optimistic in co-operative, collectivist or socialist democratic societies [3].

Future in GPID can be also utopian dreams expressing individual experiences, desires and wishful thoughts. The future is not that of the world seen by groups and societies, but by women: human beings as new materials of the future, planetary staring, rebirth and production of human goodness. Women appear to be practical utopianists building a new society on the cracks of the old. Visions of the world cannot be depicted by women or men but by social groups and classes, societies, nations, cultures and periods of history which is more adequate with a Marxist bias. The division of society between men and women is characteristic of Capitalist societies [4]. Is future that near, 1980s in order to shape it or its shaping needs more time depending on the work of others and historical laws not only on individual wishes? Most of the new stages visions are related to the powers of biological sciences in transforming human beings and creating new societies [5]. Alternatives societies cannot be only desirable societies by real alternative societies through alternative development [6]. Future in GPID is conceived as a desire, an individual wish, not a

(1) EIG, II, Sections, II, III ... and the problem of historical specificity; Cultural Contribution of Africa and the Shaping of the NIO.

(2) B. Van Steenbergen: The Frugality Society: A future design for the First World, VDS, p.125-141.

(3) I. Miles: New Technologies, Older Orders, VDS, p.205-244, particularly, p.213-239; "VDW are futuristic oriented "Rahman p.17.

(4) E. Boulding: Women's vision of the Future, VDS. p.9-24; Human Beings, the Raw Material of the Future, p.10.

(5) B. Osorio-Tafall: Shaping the Future: The World in the 1980s, VDS, p.109-124.

(6) Visions of Alternative Societies or Visions of Desirable Societies, VDS, p.3; M.C. Botez; M. Celac: Undesirable versus Desirable Societies, GPID, 66; R.C. P.H.: The Nature of Future Development in New Zealand, GPID, 19.

historical dimension of time, an objective initiative, individual and collective even through dialogue of civilizations, alternative societies are still desirable societies [1]. In spite of this personal convictions, the future is still uncertain [2]. SCA would describe also the future, the future of cultures, civilizations and of mankind.

If GPID is mostly more tended to the future as utopian visions through individual experiences, SCA is more tended towards the past and the analysis of traditions. SCA may have also adopted an utopian vision of tradition, all is positive, nothing is negative. In SCA traditions come forward for the sake of modernity. Traditions in developing societies represent the main stream in mass culture and in national consciousness. In GPID modernization comes forward with the exception of Gandhian Thought. In SCA since modernity is in crisis the resurgence of tradition becomes understandable. A sane and healthy modernity comes out of the tradition [3]. Tradition is endogeneity, modernity without tradition is exogeneity. In GPID, modernization has its own paradigm without giving a priority to tradition or to the global process of development [4]. That is why in SCA the analysis of traditions, legacies and history is predominant, not as past and dead heritage but as living traditions providing masses with value systems, forming their views of world and determining their motivations for actions. Traditions do not mean necessarily

(1) H. Addo: Informing visions of desirable future societies through dialogue of civilizations: A Peripheral View, VDS, p.157-176.

(2) A. Sicinski, M. Wemegah: AWL, Their Impressive Present and Uncertain Future, AWL, p.3-12;EIG, IV, A.C. Ekug: Quel Afrique en l'an 2000? Biology, Medecine and the future of mankind, TWI, p.67-86; ; Context of expectations, EIC, I, p.14-16; E. Boulding: The Social Imagination and the Crisis of Human Future; A North American perspective, EIG, V; J. Dunn: The Future of Political Philosophy in the West, EIC, V; K. Miyamoto: Balance Sheet of Development Through the Industrial Complex, V. Prospect for the Future (Sophia); T. Szentes: Transformation of the World Economy and Society; In what direction and in whose interest? Conclusion on the past tendencies, present problems and future prospects. p.108-128.

(3) C.A., IV, Modernism and Modernity; L. Barel: Can we still Think Modernity? TW,II, p.57-72; Modernity in Crisis: The resurgence of tradition, TW,III, p.1-22; Reflection on the Paradigm of Tradition and Modernity, TW, III, P.83.

(4) Friberg, Hattne: The Modernization Paradigm, DST, p.210-214.

collectivism and social dictums but they mean also Individualism, personalism and sense of liberty. Traditions can be a source of oppression and a source of liberation as well [1]. Modernization is done for cultures and societies alike. Epicenters of modernity always existed in history, one after the other: Eastern Mediterranean, Central Mediterranean, Western Mediterranean, Western Europe, North America and finally East Asia. Astonishing is the complete absence of socialist revolutions in the East and national liberation movements in the Third World as if culture has been reduced mostly to science and technology. On the other hand, exogenous modernization of societies has a very negative influence: growing gap between rich and poor, mass unemployment, destruction of local industries by imported industralization, urbanization left without development, development of corrupted relations with foreign capitalists and dependency on them [2]. SCA may analyze also modernization of economic sectors such as irrigation in a village society [3]. However, modernization and development are two opposites such as economic growth and development or development and social transformation in GPID are also two opposites [4]. The ideal in SCA is an organic and endogenous unity between tradition and modernity in order that every society and culture can effectuate change through continuity. Tradition is the condition and the very source of modernity [5].Any rupture between these two poles would end by dividing societies and cultures into two trends: secular modernism and traditional conservatism,

(1) EIC, IV; Section 1; The living legacies of Africa to world civilization, l'héritage du passée in INEP: Dévelopment rural et catégories intellectuelles p.1-2; EIC V; Section II; The identity of a tradition: Individualism notion of a person and sense of liberty.

(2) Y. Murai: The potential for self-reliant development on Indonesia, (Sophia).

(3) A. Tamaki: Organization of East Asia irrigation agricultural society; IV, modernizing and irrigation society (Sophia).

(4) S.C. Dube: Modernization and development; search for alternative paradigms; see also our ER of this study.

(5) Workshop on creativity and the integration of traditions and modern attitudes with special reference to Bangladesh and Indian sub-continent; Information leaflet, Chittagong, 1980; A.F. Salahuddin Ahmed: Aspects of Bangali society and social thought: Tradition and transformation; Rafiuddin Ahmed: Tradition and modernity in Bengali Islam: Social factors and cultural attitudes.

westernization and fundamentalism. SCA gave an applied example for this rupture in Africa [1]. Sometimes, polarity between tradition and modernity becomes a polarity between occultation and complementarity as if tradition is hidden somewhere [2]. In SCA, the polarity between tradition and modernity is equal to the polarity between religion and secularism. Since religion is the main forming factor of traditions, SCA concentrates on religions. A whole volume (TW, IV) is dedicated to religion and philosophy. Since GPID is with modernity, it tends more towards the secular world. SCA would give equal importance to Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam as well as to Afro-Asian religions [3].GPID concentrates more on non-Abrahamic religions in Africa and Asia. Sometimes GPID would deal with religion but in a very narrow scale, a vision of the future, a liberation through faith since the world now is ruled by the devils in this satanic civilization. The same position exists in "Self and society, a study in Gandhian Thought". New theologies are required to maintain faith in the modern world [4].

However, historical analysis in GPID is much less than in SCA, There is only small historical analysis of changes of needs, of

(1) EJC, IV, Section II: The problematique of rupture: The exogenous and endogenous dimensions. Four areas are studied:
- Africa's ruptured past as the major formative element of Europa's historical surplus-value.
- Socio-cultural maintenance and continuities: The instruments modalities, *loci*, social forces.
- Artificial rupture: The reductionist visions and models of Africa's-imitative development as the main obstacle to its genuine independent endogenous remainance, EIC IV, p.101.

(2) CA, III, Section 4: From occultation to complementarity.

(3) TW, IV, Religion and Philosophy; 1. S. Takdir Alisjahbana: The meaning of philosophy and religion in the great transformation of our time; 4. P.J. Hountondji: Philosophy and religion In Africa's cultural crisis; Section II, Religion and philosophical dimensions in political projects of the transformation of the world; 2. M. Shafig: Religious thought facing the challenge of change; B. Johansen: Plea for a dialogue between Marxism and Islam; 3. A.K. Abul-Magd: Some aspects of new Islamic contribution and the moral and practical transformation of the World; 5. G. Obeysekere: Social and ethical transformation in modern Theravada Buddhism: 7. G. Grahs: Some trends in the political and social thinking of the world council of churches on the transformation of the world; D. Soelle: God and the Bomb; D. Soelle, J.B. Metz: Can religion contributes to the humanization of society? See also our ER on this volume.

(4) R. Garaudy: Faith and liberation, VDS, p.47-60.

religion or in relation to a special case study [1]. In SCA historical [2] analysis would show historical surplus value in orthodox Marxism.

5. Priority: Culture and Society.

One of the main concept-tools in SCA is priorities [3]. A priority is a preference, a choice, a point of departure or even a point of arrival. SCA gives priority to culture. Culture is the main dimension in human life. Man thinks before he eats. Culture in SCA is in capital C not small c. Although the title of SCA begins by society in socio-cultural, culture is the main focus not society. Culture is God in history, Eternity in time. GPID gives priority to society and social transformation. Culture is a factor in social transformation like other factors. While SCA proceeds by cultural circles: Asian, Arab-Islamic, Latin American, African, American European. GPID proceeds by case studies of different societies. Man lives in a society before he lives in a culture. In SCA, society is a production of a culture and in GPID culture is a production of society. There is a whole debate between culturalist vision of the requirements for the renaissance of Africa on one hand, and the sociopolitical vision for these same requirements on the other hand. SCA and GPID represent two schools of thought in the culturalist debate, priority of Culture (SCA) or priority of society (GPID).

In SCA, creativity is essentially intellectual, namely cultural. Intellectual creativity is not only individual but also collective [4].

(1) B. Claesers: Labor and Leisure in conflict? Needs in developing and industrial societies, H.N., p.311-327; specially: Needs theory in history and historical changes of needs: The premises, p.314- 317; Reference to Shambaa in Tanzania, H.N., p.317-322; Another reference to Buddhism in Sri Lanka, E.L. Wijemanne. E. Wanigasekera: Needs, their perception and expression: The Sri Lanka experience, GPID, 21.

(2) EIC, IV, Africa ruptured past or the major formative element of Europe's historical surplus value, p.101.

(3) A. Abdel-Malek, The gearbox of priorities, TWI, p.VII-XV.

(4) EIC, II, P.G. Casanova: Cultural and IC in Latin America; EIC, IV: a) Mobilization of endogenous potentials for intellectual and cultural creativity; b) the mobilization of endogenous potentials for Intellectual and cultural creativity; S. Munshi: language, creativity and identity in the Indian sub-continent: A study in EIC.

It is historical creativity generating from peoples and classes, groups and individuals, professions and institutions, in rural and urban societies. Since culture is anchored in society there is an oppressed culture and an oppressive hegemonic culture [(1)]. Since culture is a political culture it becomes a factor in national liberation. EIC would be a tool of liberation against exogenous culture. GPID would refer also to a cultural definition of development. Culture is the same everywhere since man is a cultural man belonging to a universal culture. Cultural specificity cannot be ignored in definition of development [(2)].

Consequently, it is natural that SCA becomes more ideological and GPID more technological in a scientific sense taking into consideration the famous polarity between Ideology and Technology or between Ideology and science. However, SCA may criticize Ideology as unrealistic and GPID may hide its own Ideology [(3)]. Technology in GPID means only economy as a social science, the application of social techniques in the study of development. Following ideology, SCA gives priority to politics. Political power is behind options in development. The state has a preponderant role. The NIO is essentially political, the end of Yalta and the beginning

(1) EIG, II is entitled: Culture and creativity in Latin America, ed. by H. Evans; Sections II, III, are on analysis of the socio- cultural factors of intellectual action. Some titles are significant such as: L. Zea: Development of cultural creation and dependent development; M.M. Denis: Colonialism, culture and intellectual creation; J. Casimir: Oppressed culture and intellectual creation; R. Stavenhagen: Popular culture and intellectual creation; Sections II, III ... with special emphasis on the collective sources of creativity; F.E. MacCregor: Notes for a cultural interpretation of Latin America; M. Benedetti; Culture of the man of action IC; EIG, II, J. Le Riverend: History and intellectual creativity; Workshop an creativity ... Chittagong, 1980; Abu Hena Mustafa Kamal: Social content in Bangladesh poetry: Changing pattern of cultural attitudes; EIC, II, Sections II, III; Analysis of the institutions promoting to the processes conducive to institutional promotion of IC.

(2) G. Rist: Development theories in the social looking-glass: Some reflections from theories to development, GPID, 4. pp. 14, 27, 30, 3.4.

(3) "I became aware of the tendency of scholars from what is known as Third World to be more ideological than scholarly in their arguments ... Ideology is not something floating in the air, but something rooted in some set of realities... However, ideology of any kind rarely offers a realistic solution to a real problem", EIC, I, p.11.

of Bandeong and October War 1973. Development is not an economic issue because there are politics and organizational framework of development [1]. However, SCA contains some economic analysis and GPID would speak of political aspects of needs [2].

Finally, SCA goes from culture passing by political ideology in order to fulfill a renaissance and to design a strategy for cultural renaissance ***Nahda Hadariya*** for the Third World digging in its history, struggling for its present and finding for it a more equitable share in history [3]. GPID would go from society to social economy to plan and to develop. GPID stays within the limits of its main concept, development as social transformation shying away from global strategies and accepting only planning strategies [4].

6. Focus: Underdevelopment and Overdevelopment.

Development is a vast and undetermined concept. It includes underdevelopment, overdevelopment and mal-development. Underdevelopment is related to developing countries, overdevelopment

(1) INEAP: Développment rural et catégories intellectuelles: La place du monde rural dans les politiques de développment p.1-8; Le cadre organizationnel du développment p.19-50.

(2) Y. Murai: The potential for self-reliant development in Indonesia; The new order's economic growth oriented: Economic outcome of the New Order; A. Tamaki; Organization of East Asia irrigation agriculture Society; Market economy and rice economy (Sophia); A. Heller: Can true and false needs be posited? The political approach to needs. HN., p.263-264; Political aspects of human needs, HN., p.218-222.

(3) CA, V; The civilizational quest. Sometimes the coordinator uses civilizational dynamics: New perceptions of prospects for human civilizations; TW, II, p.3; "From the other side of the river, however, the process was seen as a renaissance of cultures and civilizations. The Arab Islamic ***Nahda***, the Chinese cultural revolution, the upsurgence of Africanism, elements within Latin American Culture are all examples", TW,II p.2; S. Munshi: language, creativity and identity; Colonialism and the Bengal Renaissance, p.97-159; EIG, IV, Section III, The acquirement for the renaissance of Africa ....

(4) M. Wemegah: Some characteristics of alternative strategies, AWL, p.36-40; M.G. Botez, M. Celac: Undesirable versus desirable societies, GPID, 66; Critical long term planning. A theory of strategic awareness, p.22-60; D. Fischer: Major global trends and causal interactions among them, GPID, 71; Strategies as deliberate modifications of trends, p.46-57; G. Rist: Basic questions about basic human needs, HN., p.233-253; Basic needs as a strategy for development, p.239-243.

refers to developed countries, and mal-development is already a value judgment which may refer to certain processes in both underdevelopment and overdevelopment as well [1]. In spite of some vagueness in these concepts and the absence of a criteria answering the question of development for whom, for what and how, there is an implied criteria which is usually development as economic growth or as social transformation, namely global development. Strange enough, both SCA are GPID would speak of development with two different focuses without spelling it out. SCA would refer to development having in mind underdevelopment or developing countries, while GPID deals also with development having in mind overdevelopment. It is very clear from overviewing the publications of the two projects to see these two different focuses or leanings. SCA main sub-project EIC dedicated four of its five parts on creativity in underdeveloping countries in Africa, (EIC, IV), Asia, (EIC, I) Latin America (EIC, II) and the Arab World (EIC, III). Only the last one on overdevelopment, North America and Europe (EIC,V). The second main sub-project TW is also related to underdevelopment. All the topics: Science and Technology (TW,I), Economy and Society.(TW,II), Culture and Thought (TW,III), Religion and philosophy (TW,IV) and the making of the NIO (TW,V), are all related equally to both developing and developed societies, but the main motivation was the description of changes in developing world. The third sub-project CA is also more related to developing countries. Culture and power in a changing world (CA,I) and Geo-cultural visions of the world (GA,III) are all related also to developing world providing it with a new political ideology, a cultural identity and a vision of the world. The same proof can apply to GPID major works. All of them with the exception of Self and Society are on over-development. DST, TWE and IPSC are all related to NIEO which is the invention of developed

(1) In GPID, there is already a published book "On Mal-development" edited by Jan Daneki; GPID publication plan p.2. Also for a classification of these concepts, A. Touraine ER, p.31-39.

countries to absorb the new wealth and potentialities of developing countries. DWL, AWL are clearly on the maláise of industrial and overdeveloped societies. HN, HDSC, DTC and even SIHD are related to needs as conceived by overdeveloped societies and to indicators of development as conceived by these societies. Some parts of TDC and HDSC, dealing with case studies of developing countries become less scientific and more prejudicial. VDS is expressing the counterpart of DWL and AWL as individual experiences and wishful thought. The major part of GPID analysis of development leaning on over-development is the analysis of Needs, the second goal (G,2) [(1)]. Needs whether internal or external, are psychological or social, material or moral, in spite of some artifice in superfluous expressions [(2)]. The external view of behavior considers that a person has only extrinsic need, conditioned only from outside, irresponsible, having only extrinsic worth, interchangeable part and having contractual relationship. On the contrary, the internal view of a person plus the recognition of biological, sociological, psychological and hierarchical needs considers time as having intrinsic needs: growth, responsibility, intrinsic worth and intimate relationship. Even with psychology prevailing on sociology, economy is completely forgotten [(3)].

With this predominance of psychologism, development becomes a psychological issue, the analysis of motivations beside co-evolution factors. Needs fall in a network of human interaction. Types of actors in motivational field can be altruistic, egoistic, contradictory, co-evolutional, reciprocal regressive, balanced or unilateral evolutional. A quantified matrix of motivational balance is codified for measurement

(1) G.A. Mallmann: On human development, life stages and needs systems, HDSC, p.185-102.

(2) W.L. Gardiner: On turning development, inside-out or (better) in not turning development outside-in in the first place, HDSC, p.104-137; I. Miles: Societal needs, human development and liberation, SIHD, p.169-176.

(3) O. Klineberg: A socio-psychological approach, HN., p.19-36.

purposes. The study stands on its own, purely psychological rather than sociological [1].

However, psychology can be anchored in sociology in order to analyze personal growth within small groups, distorting mechanism versus healthy group. Normal and abnormal psychology pave the way to psychotherapy in order to switch from unhealthy to healthy groups. The impact of small groups on individuals is much greater than big groups. Distorting mechanism of communication and human interaction such as: authoritarianism, instrumentalism, rivalry, humiliation, dual message, pretense, aggression, elitism, symbiosis, effective blackmail, denial of subjectivity, distance, formalism, depression and aggressive ethnocentrism [2], are seen as passive, unhealthy and abnormal, although they can be also productive and creative as it is the case by Artists. A healthy group mounts to an utopia. Success or failure of adaptation is one of the psycho-social aspects of development unrelated to economic or global development [3].

Developmental psychology dominates, once the concept of development is so widened to include human development from childhood to maturity, from child psychology to adult psychology. Human development begins from childhood through the satisfaction of needs to the fulfillment of social character [4]. Sometimes psychological analysis is expressed in a symbolic literary vocabulary, revealing the link between psychology and literature, between feelings and forms of expressions [5]. The duality discovered between scientific ≠ irrational, historical ≠ mythical, adult ≠ infantile, civilized ≠ savage, modern ≠ primitive sane ≠ insane, developed ≠ underdeveloped are fine swift-handed passage from psychologism

(1) C. Mamali, G. Paun: Classification and hierarchization in motivational fields: Co-evolution vectors, HDSC, p.140-172.

(2) T. Barriero: Small groups and personal growth: Distorting mechanisms versus the healthy group, HDSC, p.174-189.

(3) O. Nudler: The development - adaptation dialectic, HDSC, p.191-210.

(4) E. Masini: Human development and childhood, HDSC, p.281-301.

(5) A Nandy: The idea of development, the experience of modern psychology as a cautionary tale and as allegory, HDSC, p.388-417.

to anthropologism based on the analysis of ***La méntalité primitive*** or ***La pensée sauvage*** which pleases a Jungian psychologist or an orthodox structuralist . Development can be seen also as maturity growth after primary growth. Growth is not only economic but also human. However, there are conditions which foster maturity growth and other conditions which hamper it. Maturity growth is rooted in primary growth. It is conditioned by work, public life human relations, healthy groups and material conditions of life. Maturity growth as a paradigm is opposed by another paradigm, that of success. The first is a cultural growth, the second is a material one. Material growth is the base of utilitarian culture, various individual life while maturity growth is the affirmation of individualism or plenitude. This is, indeed, a religion and puritan concept of development or human growth expressing Western Individualism in overdeveloping societies (1).

The classification of needs really applies mostly to overdevelopment such as heating and energy system (2). There is no abstract analysis of needs because needs change from society to another. African Societies do not need system of heating. Primary needs such as food, water, shelter, education, security, gatherness, ...etc. are so obvious without all these research papers expressing different schools of thought in the analysis and classification of needs. Diversified approaches to needs express a desire for coherence between the scholar and himself rather than between the scholar and reality. Energy crisis with figures of oil production, tables on oil consumption and statistics on oil reserve interest only overdeveloped and industrial societies. Developing societies may need food and security, bread and freedom. Needs change not only from a society

(1) T. Barriero: Towards a model of human growth, HDST, p.31-84.

(2) "The several hundred millions of poor and starving people in this world are not interested in energy as such. They desperately need more better food, descent housing, clean water and air, medical attention and better transportation and communication, increased levels of education, meaningful work and a good cultural and social environment worlds"; Ed. Poleszynski: An issues paper, contributed by the energy study group of the GPID project, UNU, GPID, 57, p.1.

to another, but from a class to another, from a political regime to another: (sacrifices, hierarchy of needs as hierarchy of values) and even from a historical period to another [1].

Needs are not only biological, psychological, or social but also moral. Man lives from bread but he does not live from bread alone. There are more creative needs: Self-expression, creativity, praxis, work (not job), active subject (not passive, client, object), challenge and new experience, togetherness (friends, espouses, offspring), partnership with nature (aesthetic experience), a sense of purpose, of meaning of life. Swiftly. the analysis of moral need joins the utopian thought in visions of desirable societies or becomes moral recommendations and imperatives for good behavior. The agrarian reform and moral development are converted to theses of good conduct in the Ten Commandments [2]. In few cases, SCA goes into some problems related to needs like energy but in the context of the transformation of the world applied in case studies from Latin America (Brazil) or Arab countries (Egypt) [3].

However, development in industrial societies is questioned. How far personal needs are fulfilled? What is the extent between paid and unpaid work? What free time the person has? How strong is the relation between the person and his family from one side and the State from the other side? How successful is the person's fulfillment in political economic and cultural spheres?[4] In development of unemployment and manpower policy, State subsidies for the reduction of unemployment did not help. New international division of labor will create further unemployment, a symptom of world's

(1) V. Bravo, G.G. Mendbza, J. Legisa, G. E. Suarez, I. Zyngierman: Capital requirement for water heating: Solar versus conventional equipment, GPID, 72; A first approach to defining basic energy needs, GPID, 71.

(2) J. Galtung: Agrarian reform and rural development. a prospective and some thesis, GPID, 50; p.4.

(3) L.P. Rosa: Nuclear energy in Latin America; The Brazilian case, TW,I: p.111-119; O.A. El-Kholy: Investigation of scientific and technological potentialities in the tradition and culture of communities for the satisfaction of basic needs, TW,II, p.85-87.

(4) I. Miles: Human development in industrial societies, HDSC, p.213- 279.

capitalist economy crisis. In fact, unemployment is not only in overdeveloped countries but also in underdeveloped countries [1]. Since GPID is concentrating on overdevelopment, underdevelopment becomes only a point of application, a remote system of reference or a field of experimentation for development through industrialization and the impact of this on the flaw of capital in the already industrialized countries [2]. The quaternary sector is not only in industrial societies but also in developing countries: wandering merchants, city of dead dwellers, masked unemployment, black market ...etc. The same characteristics such as high survival density techniques, illegal existence, marginal life, etc. are common in the sector whether in industrial or non-industrial societies [3].

The heavy leaning on overdevelopment appears in the analysis of DWL and AWL. Most of the cases are in Europe specially in Scandinavian countries. GPID chose the most industrial, technical and overdeveloped societies considered as modes of progress and achievements of human goals: social democracy, abundance, welfare, services, workers right, ...etc[4]. Otherwise, the question will be always asked: what is the criteria of selection? There are more than one paper on the same country and on other countries there are none. Why choosing New Zealand without mentioning the origins of settler regimes and leaving Spain, Portugal, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, Belgium, East-Germany or Russia? Some of the red-cover papers are already published in DWL/AWL like that on Poland, if not textually but at least the same data and the same results [5]. From 14 case studies, 10 on European countries and only 4 on developing

(1) J. Heinrichs: Development of unemployment and manpower policy in the industrialized countries, GPID, 70.

(2) O. Kreye: Perspectives for development through industrialization in the 1980: An independent viewpoint on dependency, GPID, 37.

(3) Y. Friedman: The quaternary sector, GPID, 18.

(4) External ER may explain this choice by the personality of the first coordinator (J. Galtung, Norwegian) .

(5) A. Sicinski: DWL, ALS in Poland, an outline, GPID, 28, the same as in DWL. The same authors usually write more than one paper.

countries [1]. Some papers deal with DWL/ALW as case studies, others deal with LS without case studies as theoretical approach. LS is more neutral than DWL or AWL. However, most of the results are negative except in few cases such as Poland or Finland where there are some positive aspects in its overdevelopment![2] A question is posed regarding French over-development: What are the roots of the evil?[3] Sometimes psychological social or economic subjects are dealt with as a background for DWL/AWL [4]. Most of the subjects are relative to overdevelopment such as environment and nuclear energy [5].

The four cases on DWL/AWL relative to underdevelopment come from India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Africa. Two cases only on AWL (India and Malaysia). Sri Lanka case is on needs. Africa case is already published in HDSC. The Indian case proves that pollution in underdevelopment countries comes from poverty and dirt not from industrialization. The bane of affluence is equal to a call on mysticism as it is the case in self and society. The Malaysian case shows the importance of masses not the elites in the politics of development. The Sri Lanka case is an applied study on needs [6]. It

(1) The 10 European countries are: Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, France, New Zealand and Austria. The 4 non-European countries are: India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Africa!

(2) L. Scheer, F. Prager: Austria in the year 1979: How Austria weathered the economic storm of the seventies, GPID, 30; B., J.P. Roos: Ways of life In Finland: A preliminary discussion, GPID, 31; Negative aspects of Finish life, p.21-27, positive aspect of Finish life, p.28-32; D. Poleszynski: Negative and positive sides of Norwegian LS: An empirical assessment of overdevelopment, GPID, 26.

(3) Ph. d'Iribarne: How to improve on life styles? GPID, 42.

(4) L. Sheer, F. Prager: Austria in the year 1970: How Austria weathered the economic storm of the seventies? GPID, 30; D.C, Pitt: The nature and the future of development in New Zealand, GPID, 19; P. Ester: Attitudes of the Dutch population on ALS an needs ... p.1, GPID, 27.

(5) P. Ester: Attitudes of the Dutch population on ALS and environmental determination, GPID, 27; H. Zetterberg: The Swedish public and nuclear energy; The referendum, 1980, GPID, 41.

(6) R. Roy: AWL in India: pollution of poverty or bane of affluence? GPID, 45; L.T. Ghee: AWL in Malaysia: what prospects for the masses? GPID, 44; E.L. Wigemanne, E. Wanigasekera: Needs, their perception and expression: The Sri Lanka experience, GPID, 21; B.A. Khoapa: The African personality, GPID, 25, RDSC, p.340-368; AWL in Malaysia, GPID, 44.

appears that these four non-Western cases are artificially put in DWL/AWL to minimize the leaning on overdevelopment. A simple historical accident is insufficient to explain. No general conclusions were drawn. The only conclusion is a social one: the necessity of changing the social environment. Most of the case studies are done in the same manner: The description of the country, land, people and history, data processing and data analysis. No study has been done on value-systems which are behind DWL/AWL. The importance of the case studies on non-Western experiences is that the perception of needs, is the determining factor, not needs *per se*. Historical and religious analysis of mass behavior is absent in European cases, such as Buddhism in Sri Lanka explain DWL/AWL. Did religion or history play any role in the formation of DWL/AWL in Europe, if not by action at least by reaction? SCA specificity would have helped to analyze DWL/AWL not only related to concepts and theories of development or applied in regional perspective but in the cultural setting of every case [(1)]. Since it is very difficult to speak of one homogeneous DWL/AWL in a country as a national behavior specially in countries like India, (which State? which cast?) class analysis appears only one time without its full strength or ultimate conclusions and even with skepticism [(2)]. The analysis of AWL from the view point of reproduction/change theory can explain only some aspects in AWL in overdeveloped societies [(3)]. When political regimes enter as determining factors in SWL/AWL the state socialist model is opposed to the humanist model as if capitalism is humanist and socialism is not!

Even so, what about new experiences in the Third World, African or Arab socialism? Why should social equity, inter-regional and inter-national equity, living presence of the future and

(1) "Human development and childhood" and "The idea of development" do not fall in regional perspective such as studies of human development in industrial or less, industrialized societies (Asia, Africa, Latin America).

(2) B. Roos, J.P. Roos: The upper-class way of life, an alternative for what? GPID, 68.

(3) F. Mahler: Alternative ways of life: An approach from viewpoint of the reproduction/change theory, GPID, 67.

participation be characteristics of one model only, the humanist one, and not goals of all models or ultimate desires for all societies?[1]

7. Level: Nationalism and Internationalism

SCA is more tended towards nationalism embodied in a political power, the state or in a human power, the people. Internationalism is equated with cosmopolitanism and the loss of specificity. Nationalism and Internationalism are two opposites. The NIO is just a rejection of super-powers hegemony and an affirmation of national sovereignty [2]. GPID, with the exception of "Gandhian Thought" is more tended towards the analysis of NIEO and of Imperialism, as permanent stage of capitalism. Consequently, SCA is oriented towards the analysis of socialism since it is more linked to the Third World, while GPID is focused on the analysis of capitalist system [3]. In both projects there is a dialectic between the clear and the hidden. SCA praises openly socialism in order to criticize capitalism surreptitiously. GPID criticize capitalism openly in order to defend socialism surreptitiously!

In fact, in GPID there is a double discourse: a clear one full of reference to capitalism, imperialism, Marxism, socialism, etc. and a hidden one in the argumentation against NIEO (TWE), ...etc. There may be a third discourse, an intermediate one using only clear Marxist concept and vocabulary such as bourgeois, mode of

(1) Ed. C.A. Mallmann, 0. Nudler: Human development in its social context: A collective exploration; 0. Nudler: Introduction: On the human development concept and contemporary ideological systems.

(2) "Nationalism remains a very powerful ideology and I do not think my contemporaries will readily give it up; EIC,I p.12, "Abdel-Malek and Maraj emphasized the effective exercise of political sovereignty and the right of a nation to determine its own future or the top priority to be assented in the face of numerous forms of subjugation by which developing countries are threatened." TW,I p.40; Also, social power; the state, the working people and hegemonic classes, TWII, p.107-152; Acculturation, hegemony and national cultural identity, TWII, p.23-39; class- struggle and national liberation p.83.

(3) "Sixty years, nearly half of mankind lives under socialism", TWII p.2,; Herb Addo: Imperialism, the permanent stage of capitalism, Fröber, Heinricks, Kreye: The current crisis of the capitalist world-system, DST p.111-113.

production, exploitation, etc. There is a whole volume, Imperialism, permanent stage of capitalism to review orthodox Marxist-Leninist concept of Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, with intellectual courage in developing Lenin's conception, showing the organic built-in link between imperialism and capitalism [1]. The analysis of NIEO is a hidden way to reveal the ills of capitalism and unmasking its new forms and ways of adaptation. The contemporary phase of the world capitalist system is the phase of periphery-center surplus transfer based on economic constraint. Productive forces are concentrated in the center even with the creation of pseudo-centers in Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, Thailand). Disengagement from capitalism is the condition and prerequisite of self-reliance. Sometimes without pronouncing the words, the same vision of the world can be expressed even in an age of liminality [2]. The most severe criticism of capitalism is done without mentioning it but only through the analysis of current development of World Economy [3]. In spite of the accuracy of analysis of world economy

(1) H. Addo: Imperialism, the permanent stage of capitalism: "In so far as Imperialism is in any way related to the externalization of European capitalism, leading to its globalization of the world system, Imperialism has been around in various forms, and has metamorphosized with the Capitalist World Economy, ever since its initial emergence in Europe in the late fifteenth century", IPSC, p.40; Also, correspondence between phase of world capitalism with phases of Imperialism, p.212-213 and diagrams p.253-254; It is also clear in DWL, for example: roots of mal-development, the bourgeois way of life and the exploitative style of development, DWL, p.20; Capitalism and the myth of nobility, p.47; National security and myth of national interest, p.54; Also, H. Addo Prologue: The Eurocentric State of the discipline, GPID, 69; IV, Concretizing the Capitalist historic dominance, p.18-23; VI, The basic Marxist methodological referents, p.37-42.

(2) F. Manson: Global social democracy and NIEO, GPID, 12; E. Masini: A humanistic vision in an age of liminality, p.79-88; C.A. Mills: On social indicators and development, GPID, 33; Disengagement from world capitalist system, p.24-27, p.30-32; R. Roy: Human needs and freedom: liberal, Marxist and Gandhian perspectives, HN., p.191-212.

(3) A large number of indicators reveals a sharp contrast in capitalist development between the two decades leading up to the 1960s, beginning of the 1970s and the subsequent 10 years: Fall of economic growth rate, dealing in capacity of industrial plant utilization, drop of investment, using share of new placement, changing structure of international division of labor, new centers of economics, structural crisis of industrial branches, inflation, energy crisis, unemployment, etc.; Now: Struggle for or against imperative of capital accumulation on a world scale; F, Fröbel: The current development of the world economy, GPID, 36.

after the second world war nothing is said on socialist countries and the impact of capitalism on Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia. Romania, etc or on the Third World. New left criticism of Capitalism is more convincing and thoughtful than that of orthodox Marxism.

Constant references to Capitalism and Marxism are also made in SCA more clearly and openly and less surruptiously, but to play a role in SCA three main sub-projects (EIC, TW, CA) [1]. The emergence of Capitalism in the West is understood from an Eastern viewpoint specially Chinese or Indonesian [2]. A whole study in CA,2, is given to Marxist view on economy and culture. The topic is more related to CA,I namely culture and power rather than CA,II, specificity and universality. The purpose of the study on young Marx formulating philosophy of consciousness is to show the specificity of Marxism to prevent its applicability outside its context as orthodox Marxism would do. SCA is somehow similar to German Ideology given the power of doctrines and ideals: Arabism, Political Islam, East-wind, Third World, Bandeong, Non-alignment, Culture, Nation, State, Political power, ...etc, to change reality [3]. Marxist criticism of bourgeois character of state aimed at refuting a bourgeois ideology which shaped classical international law [4]. This is also what made two external evaluations reports speaking of a Marxist bias appear, opposing academic freedom to research control [5].

In GPID, the fall of the Roman Empire is taken as a historical example of the connection between Capitalism and Imperialism which is at the source of Western hegemony. Here historical

(1) Creativity in Marxist theory, in S. Munshi: Language, creativity and identity in the Indian sub-continent, a study in EIG.

(2) J. Needham, R, Huang: The emergence of capitalism in the West: A technical interpretation: Y Murai: The potential for self-reliant development in Indonesia.

(3) W.F. Haug: Economy and culture in Marxism, a critical re-examination of its paradigms of articulation.

(4) F. Rigaux: Du Féodalisme ... TW,V, RR. p.65-66.

(5) For example "... The balance between intellectual freedom and control of propose implementation", Abdel-Rahman p.11, "The need for maintaining freedom for the researcher and the need to exercise control of Finance and coordination p.12; "... Bias in selecting collaborators leaning towards one colour of thought", P.5.

dimension in GPID coincides with the same dimension in SCA. Parallelism between the old and the new is similar to SCA simultaneous analysis of tradition and modernity. The same key-concepts appear: center/periphery [1]. The same example is taken again to switch from socio-political analysis to moral prescriptions, from the ***Sein*** to the ***Sein-Sollen*** and from facts to values. History repeats itself from the old example of Imperial Rome to the modern example of Hegemonic West [2]. The two projects deal with problems of equity and inequity. While SCA is dealing with Socialism as a fact, socialist regimes and Socialist countries, GPID deals with Socialism in VDS in an utopian way. Here roles are interchanged between SCA and GPID. Utopian socialism in VDS would recognize actual problems: poverty, disintegration of communities, loss of spontaneous, meaningful and imaginative production, exclusion of people from active participation in decision-making, Capitalist as well as Socialist overriding interest in maximizing the expansion of material production. However, the solution is utopic: work in humanistic socialism which guarantees: socialization of means of work (from private property to common social property); production not for profit but for the satisfaction of human needs; involving the workers in decision-making process; humanization of work and renunciation of dehumanizing technology; communal life and participatory democracy; cultural praxis [3]. These are all simple desires which made one of the external evaluation reports ask "Desirable for whom and for what reason?" [4]

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(1) J. Galtung, T, Heistad, E. Ruge: On the decline and fall of Empires: The Roman Empire and Western Imperialism compared, GPID.1.

(2) S. Amin: Réflexions sur la théorie de l'Impérialisme. Revolution ou Decadance? La crise du system imperialiste contemporain et celle de l'Empire Romaine. GPID, 32F.

(3) TW,III: Equality and inequality, p.83; Mr. Markovic: A humanistic socialism vision of the future, VDS, p.61-78; The problematique of the world Capitalist reality and the principles of a vision, VDS, p.164-168, in H. Addo: Informing visions of desirable future societies through dialogue of civilizations; A peripheral view; Exploitation as a cardinal contradiction, p.168; Also; the Capitalist character mask, p.5-8, in: B. Roos, J.P., Roos: The upper-class way of life, an alternative for what? GPID, 68.

(4) Szczepanski, p.24.

8. Orientation: East-Wind and West-Wind

Both SCA and GPID tackle the question center/periphery in defense of periphery but in two different ways. While SCA is concentrating on the periphery namely the Third World, GPID, on the contrary, is concentrating on the center namely the first world. Each project goes from one point to the other. The point of departure of each one is the point of arrival of the second. SCA goes from the periphery to the center and GPID from the center to the periphery [1]. This is clear in the number of the Third World scholars in SCA, whether on the global level of all the project or in the partial level of each sub-project [2]. This is what was called "Tiers-mondisme" in SCA [3]. EIC sub-project is applied to Latin America, Africa, the Arab world and Asia (4 times) and one time in Europe and North America. Even within Europe there are differences within Western Civilizations: European cultures, North American cultures, regional and local sub-cultures, political ideologies and religious traditions. In CA,III, there is a refutation of Western philosophies of history from an Eastern point of view. the three continents [4]. TW sub-project is

(1) "Center and periphery relation is a way to reincorporate the Third World", H. Addo, DST, p.28; Froebel, Heinricks, Kreye: The crisis of the periphery. DST, p.113-115.

(2) In SCA projects there are 64 scholars from Asia and the Pacific compared to 24 in GPID: From Africa, 18 scholars in SCA and 6 in GPID; From the Arab World, 37 scholars in SCA and 2 in GPID; From Latin America, 23 scholars in SCA and 11 in GPID; From Europe 78 Scholars in SCA and 64 in GPID (given the extension of SCA)' Networks and networking: Concepts and modalities, RGSD, March, 1985, Appendix, p.19; Also in DST, only 3 scholars belong to the Third World, H. Addo (From Ghana, working in Trinidad; S. Amin from Egypt working in Dakar; G. Aseniero from the Philippines working in Tokyo). The rest are Europeans. The same percentage exist in TWE; in YDS meeting there were 25 participants, the third was women and two thirds of the third belong to the Third World, I. Miles, Introduction, VDS, p.145; Abdel-Rahman, observes the dominance of the first world (West) scientists and institutions, ER, p.5.

(3) A. Touraine: p.7, Le Tiers-mondisme: Espoir ou nostalgic? p.39-43.

(4) TW,I, Nuclear Energy in Latin America, the Brazilian case; J. Needham contribution to the history of science and technique in China; TW,II is treating Caribbean, Egypt, Ghana and Iran. TW,III deals also with Latin America with special reference to Cuba and Nicaragua, p.48-52 only Spain and Quebec are dealt with in TW,II and both do not belong to the very center of Europe. A. Husein: Philosophies of History in the West from an Eastern point of view (Arabic).

also applied to the three condition GPID analyses in most case studies in DWL and AWL European societies with the exception of Gandhian Thought. Even in DST six studies out of eight are on the First World [1]. In TWE, eight studies out of nine are also on the first world. To complete the picture, SCA is East-wind oriented while GPID is West-wind oriented [2]. SCA calls East-wind the other side of the river [3]. This is due to the previous divergence on focus between underdevelopment (SCA) and overdevelopment (GPID). In order to polarize East-West, both would use the same famous slogans such as "Eastern morals and Western Art" (Sakuma) [4].

Asia has in SCA the same importance and weight as Europe in GPID [5]. Asia in SCA means East-Asia, specially, Japan, China and India. NIO has its repercussion on East Asia regarding creativity [6]. There is an organizational structure in irrigation society in East Asia which may extend to Iran and Mexico relative to structures and feature of mass movements [7]. There is an Asian trade facing Western economy in modern centuries [8]. East Asia may refer not

(1) In DWL, Norway, Switzerland, Britain, Poland, Netherlands, Denmark, Europe and USA; There is only one on Japan in five pages! AWL adds Finland and West Germany. In DST two only are outside the First World, Beyond Eurocentricity (ch.1) and Global crisis and developing countries (ch.4); in TWE only one chapter deals with non-aligned movement and NIEO (ch.5).

(2) This is so in spite of some analysis of some problems related to the West such as the control of space and power, TWI, p.87-119, "The combination of the first two outer circles - civilizational moulds and cultural area, provides the more generally accepted frame of definition of East and West, of Orient and Occident" FR. p.S.

(3) CA,III, Section 2; The other side of the river: The making of major Geo-cultural non-Western visions of the world.

(4) TW,I, p.46; A. Touraine, p.4; Un nouvel historicisme, p.56, P.9-19.

(5) EIG.I sub-project is all concentrating on Asia (Philippines, India, Japan, Thailand, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, China and Japan). Another whole meeting is devoted to Japanese experience in Sophia University. Indonesia appears only one time; Y. Murai: The potential for self-reliant development in Indonesia.

(6) K. Tsurumi: EIC and the emerging of NIO, with special reference to East-Asia, TW,II . p.110-126.

(7) Structure and features of mass movements in the Third World (only reference to Asia, Iran and Mexico without depth analysis). Name of author is dropped.

(8) A. Tamaki: Organization of structure of East Asia irrigation agriculture society (Sophia), p.39-42; D. Lach: Asian trade and European economy, 17th century.

only to Japan and China mainly but also to Mongolia, central Asia, Vietnam and South-East Asia, Indian sub-continent, Oceana with an Asian-Islamic civilizational cultural area from Persia to the Philippines (1). There are historical characteristics in the evolution of Chinese civilization different from those of Western Europe. China has its own geopolitical vision of the world. It has its own science and philosophy. It has its own policies regarding national minorities and social transformation. A whole history of the West can be written from a Chinese viewpoint. Scholars who made science and civilization in China their whole life vocation are greatly hailed and honored (2).

Japan has also in SCA a preponderant place. Sometimes in the history of Japan, Japan's Asian vocation comes in conflict with China as a State. In recent history, the Asian vocation of Japan led to its expansionism and the negation of China as a state, a theory that prepared the way for Japanese adoption of German geopolitical ideas. The "just way", Wang Tao, has been for original unification of a great Asian Association (3). In SCA, Japan is simultaneously a whole and a small world. Although it is already present in EIC,I,

(1) "In the Chinese-Asia civilizational circle are China proper, Japan, Mongolia - Central Asia, Vietnam and South-East Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Oceana (with an Asian/Islamic civilizational cultural area from Persia to the Philippines), FR. p.5.

(2) Zhang Qi-ni, Y. Si-guang: Some historical characteristics in the evolution of Chinese and Western civilizations; Ho Peng Yoke, Yuce geng Xine: The final curtain of Chinese Alchemy; Fei Hsiaw-Tung: On the social transformation of China's minority nationalities, EIC, p.378-401; J. Needham, R. Huang: The birth of Chinese Society; A technical interpretation. G. Blue, J. Needham's contribution to the history of science and technology in China, TW.1, p.127-130.

(3) One of the papers (Sophia) treats this subject exposing the following points: The dimension of modern Japan's Pan-Asianism; China is not a State, the theory that prepared the way for Japanese adoption of German Geo-political ideas; Regional unification through application of the principle of Wang Tao, the just way, the aim of the great Asia Association; Nakayama and new order in East Asia proclamation of principle Koroye; The realist anti-military speech delivered by representative Takao Saito: Regionalism of Masamichi Royama irrespective of consanguinity; The presentation of the ideal of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere and realistic arguments for turning it into a national policy.

relative to Asia, it has a special RR (Sophia) [1]. Modern Japan imposed its setting on the cultural circles and oriented EIC towards the analysis of the Real not the Ideal, namely technology, industrial complex environmental disruption (Mina Mata case), irrigation society, resources, ...etc [2]. Political culture in Japan is analyzed as well as characteristics of Japanese society [3]. Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs may have changed the geo-cultural vision of the world in Japan [4].

In GPID, China is taken as an example of people's participation in all decision making [5]. China and Japan have much less weight than in SCA(6). In DST only one scholar from Japan out of ten and in TWE none. In GPID sub-project on Goals (G.4) from 14 case studies on AWL, only 3 papers on Asia (India, Sri Lanka and Malaysia), one on Africa and 10 on European countries [7]. (Netherlands, Norway,

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(1) K. Sakuta: Social aspects of endogenous intellectual activity, principle of group formation in Japan, EIC,I, p.402-421; Also, first institutional report, Nov. 1979-March 1980; Institute of international relations for advanced studies on peace and development (Sophia University).

(2) K. Kawano: Science and Technology in Japanese history, TW,I, p.46-49, T. Nakaoka: Science and Technology in the history of modern Japan, TW,I, p.130-135; Y. Tamanoi: The change of the modern view of nature and alternative Technology (Sophia RR); K. Miyamoto: Balance sheet of development through the industrial complex (Sophia RR); J. Nishikawa: The political economics of self-reliance; Problems of domestic mobilization of resources in the NIEO.

(3) J. Kamishima: In research of nex theoretical framework for political analysis of Japanese and Asia political cultures.

(4) CA, III, S.H. Shibata: The philosophy of history in the nuclear age: Implications of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki for world history and culture.

(5) J. Galtung: Agrarian reform and rural development: A perspective and some thesis, GPID, 50, p.10.

(6) Only 1 scholar in DST from Japan out of 10, H. Seki: Militarization and Development. The same in the 71 research papers. H. Seki: Global militarization and its remedy. GPID, 63; In TWE none.

(7) The four are:

1- R. Roy: Alternative ways of life in India; Pollution of poverty or bane of affluence, GPID, 45.

2- E.L. Wejmanne, E. Wanigasekara: Needs, their perception and expression; The Sri Lanka experience, GPID, 21.

3- L.T. Ghee: Alternative ways of life in Malaysia; what prospects for the masses? GPID, 44.

4- B.A. Khoapa: The African personality, GPID, 25: Already published in HDSC, p.339-368.

Poland, Austria, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, France, New Zealand). Most cases were previously studied in DWL/AWL published books.

In SCA, India has a special place as well as in GPID. In SCA three of the RR are concentrating on India plus a workshop to substantiate more and more EIC [1]. India is conceived as a subcontinent including Pakistan and Bangladesh. More attention is given to the problem of language before tackling National Thought. Thought is that of a nation not of an individual except as an embodiment of national culture. Nationalism is a political idea practiced by national leaders. Three main national thinkers are exposed on a central theme: Culture and power (Bankimehandra), critique of civil society (Gandhi) and the passive revolution (Nehru). In GPID, a whole study is made on India Self and society, study in Gandhian Thought as well as one RP [2]. In regional perspective HDSC analyses the relation between Buddhism and development [3]. The etymological meaning of the word development in Pale or Sanskrit is Disorderliness or confusion! In Buddhism, development refers to progress or to regression. In Latin ***progressio*** means madness. Development in modern European languages took its meaning only recently from developmentalist philosophy. In philosophy of history, progress can be forward or backward, following a law of progress of a law of recourse. Africa is gloriously more present in SCA than in GPID.

African creativity is dealt with not only in EIC,I but a whole volume of EIC (EIC,IV) is devoted to Africa as living legacies, rupture and continuity, renaissance and political power, specificity and NIO [4]. Creativity in Africa is endogenous. Pan-Africanism is a

(1) Rasheeduddin Khan: Endogenous cultural creativity: The ethos of the composite culture of India, EIC, p.194-243.

(2) R. Roy: Alternative ways of life in India; Pollution of poverty or bane of affluence, GPID, 45.

(3) S. Sivaraksa: Buddhism and development, HDSC, p.370-417.

(4) K. Botchwey: Transforming the periphery: A study of the struggle of social forces for democracy and national sovereignty in contemporary Ghana, EIC,I, p.126-135.

formative factor in NIO. Liberation of Africa was tied to African political culture by the mobilization and integration of the potential for creativity. Technology Transfer is not the only factor in African industrialization. A retrospect in the past towards the visions of first African vision generations would lead to African in the turning of this century. CA, III sub-project also analyzed history of Africa from the pre-colonial era till the liberation of Africa [1]. In GPID Africa is present in the African personality. In a typological concept of man, Western liberal and Marxist, the African becomes the third type. African personality can be seen in family and community morals. African Socialism is a part of African endogenous culture [2]. Only anthropological approach to culture may lead to the notion of "black time" [3].

Although Islamic world in SCA is a part of Asia and Africa, it has its own autonomy as a cultural circle. Egypt has in it a preponderant place, not because of the project coordinator but because of the place of Egypt in the Arab and Islamic worlds and its role since Bandeong till October war 1973. A whole volume in EIC sub-project (EIC,III) is devoted to the Arab world. Islam is one component in African religion [4]. In TW sub-project the Arab World And Egypt at the center is a part of world Transformation [5]. In GPID, Islam like

(1) Ki-Zerbo: Intellectual cultural endogenous creativity in Africa; A. Ajayi: Promoting EIC in Africa: L. Edmondson: Transcontinental Pan-Africanism and the search for a NIO: Popoola: Technological transfer and industrial development in Africa; F. Rajaoson: Culture et liberation nationals en Afrique; Omari: On mobilization and integration of endogenous potential for creativity: The different visions among first generation African politicians: Ekué: Quel Africa en l'an 2000?; A. Mazuri: The reincarnation of the African State: A triple heritage in transition from pre- colonial times. CA.III.

(2) B.A. Khoapa: The African Personality, HDSC, p.340-368. Separate publication in GPID, 25.

(3) See Convergence 2- Transcendence and Immanence; Also, TCD, H.B Green: Time Conflicts and Black Cultures, p.235-298.

(4) EIC, IV; Three historical components of African religion, (Traditional religions, Islam and Christianity), p.105; I.Z. Ati: Islamic World views, GA,III R.P.

(5) I. El-Zaim: Changing patterns in the world economy and the transition to a NIEO with special reference to the Arab World, TW,II, p.41-46; O.A. El-Kholy: Investigation of scientific and technological potentialities in the tradition and culture of communities for satisfaction of basic needs (The Egyptian case) TW,II, p.35-87.

Christianity, both are dealt with as parts of African personality. Islam spread out in Africa because its rejection of racialism, its sense of community and through trade [1]. Quick references to Islamic Fundamentalism and occasionally ***à propos*** the Green Movements would be a simple allusion to a more complex and rooted phenomena [2].

Finally, it is also clear that Latin America is more present in SCA than GPID. A whole volume in EIC sub-project (EIC,II) is devoted to it [3]. In TW sub-project the emergence of new social thought and new social power come from Latin America [4]. In CA,III, Latin America has a geo-cultural vision of the world different from the West [5]. GPID would apply also to HDSC in regional perspective in Latin America focusing on cultural practice which is the knot between culture and society. There are three cultural practices: consumerist, productive creative and intermediate. Development is linked to the second type. Even human needs and social representations are associated with cultural practices [6]. In VDS, out of the 16 studies (14 plus 2 introductions) five only come from the Third World and nine from Europe. From the five, three from Latin America (2 Mexico and 1 Argentina), one from Ghana-Trinidad, one from India and nothing on Asia or Africa. All studies express wishful thought away from the real world [7].

(1) B.A. Khoapa: The African personality, HDSC, p.353; GPID, 25.
(2) S. Amin: A propos the Green Movements. in DST p.276, p.281.
(3) Ed. H. Evans: Culture and creativity in Latin America.
(4) J. Casimir: The Framework of the development of science and technology in the Caribbean, TW,II, p.77-85; G. Pierre-Charles: Culture et pensée dans la transformation de l'Amérique-Latin; Le cas de Cuba et Nicaragua, TW,III, p.50-52; S. Bruna: The emergence of socio-political force; Actual Latin America in perspective, TW,III, p.48-50.
(5) G.C. Damas: Poruna vision geo-cultural no occidentalizada de America Latina, CA,III; A. Varas: Vision de mundo y alternatives ideologicos en el cono sur: El caso chileno, CA,III.
(6) M.T. Sirvent: Human development and popular culture in Latin America, case studies, HDSC, p.303-338.
(7) J. Somovia: Domocratization and transnationals in Latin America; A looking to the near future, VDS, p.263-268; H. Addo: Informing visions of desirable future societies through dialogue of civilizations: A peripheral view, VDS, p.157-176; A Nandy: Towards a Third World Utopia, VDS, p.177-204.

9. Temperament: Ambition and Modesty

Since social science is a human science, it carries out the fingerprint of scholars as humans. No wonder that every coordinator in the two projects left his fingerprint on his project. Without reducing the two projects to the personalities of the two coordinators as some evaluation reports do [1], the two projects being independent and having their internal consistencies and organic structure. Unity of SCA and diversity of GPID may be due to the Temperament of the two coordinators as well as to some historical circumstances. Every coordinator was like a Maestro directing a whole orchestra to play a symphony which he himself wrote! SCA coordinator having a strong sense of identity and of unity, SCA project came likewise [2]. The same coordinator stayed from the beginning of the project till the end without change. On the contrary, GPID coordinator having a strong sense of diversity, "Let hundred flowers blossom", GPID project came likewise [3]. GPID, coordinator changed twice and left for the third time, the project stayed without coordinator. The loss of the first coordinator, passing to the second and to the third no coordinator was tremendous [4]. The first was a thinker, a philosopher and a prophet such as SCA coordinator. The second was quantitative, scientific and professional. The change of coordinators from the first to the second is behind switching from Prophetism to Rabbinism. The third was organizational administrative, and stimulating, but leaving the project without synthesis, conclusions and summing up. A rescue mission by the third coordinator could have brought the second-diversity to the primary unity. However, GPID continued to have prophets, one to unify history and morals, facts and values, ***Sein*** and ***Sein-sollen*** by taking the problem of Imperialism in its roots as given up to the law of value, the other to unify GPID itself,

(1) Abdel-Rahman, ER, p.1-12.

(2) A. Abdel-Malek: Culture identity and socio-political change, TW,II, p.2.

(3) Multiplicity of visions, VDS, p.5-6.

(4) The first was J. Galtung who wrote the project-plan and the project progress report. The second was Mallmann. The third was practically Husam Isa.

bringing it back to its original unity [1].

Moreover, SCA is a very ambitious project, wanting the whole world to be remolded, reshuffled and reshaped. The title itself is very symptomatic. "Socio-cultural Alternatives in a changing world", as well as the titles of the three main sub-projects: EIC, TW, CA [2]. GPID is more modest in goal, the study of development even if it is not modest in purpose, unveiling and unmasking over-development and the NIEO [3]. It is the same human polarity between Pathos and Ratio, Romanticism and Classicism, Heroism and Common mortals. If the first question is: Would ambition express hope or nostalgia? The second is: Would modesty express despair or reality?[4]



(1) The first is Samir Amin in "Reflexions sur la théorie de l'Imperialisme, GPID, 32, p.1; The second is Herb Addo in his mission of a "descent burial" for GPID.

(2) "This concept may seem somewhat unrealist ..." J.M. Hester, UNU, Rector, EIC.I, p.14.

(3) "The goal of the project was: Was this more modest than achieving a complete synthesis of alternative development perspective, SIHD, p.3-4.

(4) This is the question of A. Touraine: Le Tiers-mondisme: Espoir ou Nostalgie? ER, p.39.

Convergences between SCA and GPID

Going up the two cleavages of the mountain convergences appear. Both SCA and GPID have almost the same structure. Both are based on triology, SCA = EIC, TW, CA, GPID = OD, UD, ID. There is a sense of dualism depassing itself towards monism. It is clear in SCA, TW titles such as, Science and Technology, Economy and Society, Religion and Philosophy, Culture and Thought, as well as from CA titles such as: Culture and Power, Specificity and Universality, Modernism and modernity. But this dualism tends towards monism, clear in some other titles such as, The Making of the NIO, Geo-cultural Visions of the World and the Civilizational Quest. The same duality appears in GPID between overdevelopment and development, DWL and AWL, Development and social transformation, transforming and world-economy, poverty and progress, self and society. This duality tends also towards monism in other titles such as Imperialism. Even a triad can be found in both projects such as SCA, EIC or GPID, time, culture and development. Only GPID is quadruple, namely GPIT. Poles in thoughts indicate not only themes but also processes of mind and movements of the soul.

However, main convergences lie in approach as well as subject matter as follows:

1. Vocation.

Both projects are not simple professional pieces of research but express a high sense of vocation. ***Beruf*** according to Max Weber is not only profession but also vocation. Each one is a call, a message and even a sermon. SCA calls for socio-cultural alternatives, endogenous intellectual creativity, culture and power, tradition and modernity, specificity, civilizational dynamic, historical initiative ... etc. GPID also warns: Poverty of progress, Imperialism as permanent stage of Capitalism, Development as social transformation, etc. There is a crisis which needs not only professional solutions but also a high degree of commitment and an acute sense of struggle [1]. Each project has a cause and fights for it. ***La science sociale est une science engajée***. In both projects there is a love for the word problématique which reveals an existential and a dramatic aspect in human and social sciences, in opposition to the other word problem, calmer and uncommitted , generally used in natural and applied sciences [2]. In the vocation, the moral is as real as the material fact. The problem is only the modality in which the unity appears, externally decomposite or internally built-in. Only a demagogue falls in rhetoric and a second class scholar falls into data gathering. A committed first rate social scientist feels the unity in perception between moral duty and academic mastership.

2. Globalism.

Both projects adopt a global vision of their main topics, culture in SCA or development in GPID. No wonder that both make part of

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(1) The word crisis appears also in DST: The feeling of crisis; the current crisis of the Capitalist world system, DST, p.109-113; The crisis and periphery, p.113; The political crisis, p.116-117; The intensification of the crisis, p.117-121; Economic crisis and political crisis in East Europe, p.157-165, etc.

(2) EIC,I; A. Abdel-Malek: The problématique, p.25-31; EIC,IV, Section II, The problématique of rupture: The exogenous and indogenous dimensions; 5. Munshi: Language, creativity and identity in Indian sub-continent, a study In EIG; ch.1, the problématique of creativity, p.13-56; DST, reflections on the Global problématique.

the RGSD. Sometimes it is more clear in GPID than in SCA because of the tendency in GPID towards global modeling. GPID, dealing with development ***terre à terre***, felt the need for synthesis and globalism, while SCA beginning already by a global vision of culture considered globalism as ***fait accompli***. In GPID, globalism does not exclude causal-interaction between trends and factors. It is only an approach to economic and military crisis. Since processes are global, models also are global [1]. Globalism in that sense would be suspicious in SCA because it denies specificity and ignores national sovereignty. Endogeneity and creativity are against globalness of culture. In SCA globalness is equal to hegemony [2].

3. Inter-disciplinarity.

Both projects are interdisciplinary research where sociology, politics and economy are interwoven. Both shy away from Western Orientalism [3]. Laying the foundation for a new discipline which surpasses political economy, political sociology, political culture, political theory and political anthropology ...etc., in which contributions

(1) D. Fischer: Major global trends and causal interactions among them, GPID, 76; Some examples of causal interactions among families of trends, p.18-26; DST, reflections on the Global problématique; Dead end: Western economic responses to the Global economic crisis, p.86-110; N. Friberg, B. Hettne: The greening of the world, towards a non-deterministic model of global processes, p.204-270; H. Seki: Militarization and development , Militarization, a crucial element in the global militarization, p.187-190; Disarmament theory and global strategy for demilitarization, p.110-196; J. Seki: Global militarism and its remedy, GPID, 11; F. Manson: Global social democracy and NIEO, GPID, 12; J. Galtung: Global processes and the world in the 1980: Prolegomenon I for a GPID world model, GPID, 52; M. G. Bolez, M. Celac: Global modeling ... without models? Theory, methodology and rhetoric in world modeling, GPID, 51; I- Global models, some suggestions for comparative analysis, p.4-18; II- New directions in global modeling, a few suggestions, p.19-27; III- The processes of global modeling, some structural characteristics, p.28-59; IV- A proposal: Participative global modeling, p.60-62.

(2) Kenji Kawano: Endogeneity and globalness of cultures, EIC, p.10-12.

(3) This creativity which is opposed to exoticism and orientalism lies at the heart of the thought process itself, TW,II, p.I; "African living legacies: From exoticism and orientalism to the national-cultural level of historical efficiency." EIC,IV, p.99; "... not a way for intellectual segregation between disciplines ..."; That a global and multi-disciplinary approach is always to inform reports and discussions, EIC, IV, p.10;.

of Third World scholars would be a major input ,is still tentative efforts. The importance of interdisciplinary research in SCA is spelled out. Interdisciplinary analysis is capable of unveiling the industrial complex in overdeveloped countries such as Japan [1].

Interdisciplinary research is intertwined with cultural dialogue, between religions, traditions, cultures and civilizations. This appears in GPID in utopian thought. Dialogue of civilizations towards human dignity is one item in VDS [2]. In SCA dialogue also occurs between religions, ideologies and cultures. Cultural dialogue is admitted in international law as a way for international piece. It may also clarify some misunderstanding, between cultures [3]. In GPID dialogue is combined with participatory research in the study of basic human needs. Hunger problem cannot be analyzed without multidisciplinary studies [4].

Dialogue in GPID is a tool. From the twelve papers on Tools, five are on dialogue to initiate discussion, oral or written between scholars. Dialogue occurs also between scholars and their fields. It is a method of research in rural areas, as the dialogue with peasants in the Malaysian experience, a combination of theory and practice, a certain kind of social phenomenology [5]. Meaningful dialogue in GPID is similar to meaningful comparatism in SCA.

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(1) K. Mlyamoto: Balance sheet of development through the industrial complex in Sakai and Senboka (Sophia).

(2) K. Verlaskakis, I. Martin: Economic indicators and the GPID, an attempt to bring economics back into church without loosing faith, GPID, 23, p.1; I. Miles, Intro., VDS, p.145; H. Addo: Informing visions of desirable future societies, VDS, p.172-175.

(3) TW, IV, N. Johanen: Plea for a dialogue between Marxism and Islam: T. Ishida: The significance of intercultural dialogue; K. Kuczynski: Marxist-Leninist Philosophy as a prospect for the reconciliation of the idea, and the concrete, theory and praxis; F. Rigaux: Du féodalisme à des principes universels de droit à travers la comity; Cultural dialogue in service of international piece, p. 203-204; J. Needham: Classical inter-cultural misunderstandings, CA,III, p.16-19 (manuscripts).

(4) P. Healey: Basic human needs, methodology and mobilization, GPID, 10, p.16-35; S. George: The hunger problématique and a critique of research, GPID, 49, p.23.

(5) G. Rist with O. Nudler, I. Nudler, Ch ... Alger, H. Addo: The Rist dialogues, GPID, 63; M. H. Haeri: dialectical transformation: A study of dialogue as a method for research and development in rural milieu, GPID, 48; L.T. Ghee, N.S. Nye: Working towards meaningful dialogue, GPID, 48; The Malaysian experience, GPID, 3.

Dialogue appears clearly in GPID with Freire's philosophy of education [1]. The dialogue is done twice, one time with a non-Marxist view and another time with a Marxist view [2]. Freire's Pedagogy of the oppressed is a non-Marxist approach to mass-mobilization. Liberation through alphabetization is a primary degree of national political consciousness. The cultural animator is the leader, the ideology is people's community, codification is the ideological construction.

Human beings are the subject of dialogue, whether between intellectuals or between intellectuals and masses. Dialogue is at the same time an object of study and an utopia. It is a cultural revolution, a process of "consciencism". [If the first dialogue with Freire is for him, the second dialogue is against to keep the dialogue alive between the pro and the con]. Freire's philosophy of education passed silently by the real question. It missed reality which is Capitalism. Dialogue is still on the level of words while reality is something else. What matters is not to understand the world but to change it. Historical analysis is the way to understand reality, analysis which is absent from Freire's philosophy of education. A dialogue cannot take place between the oppressed and the oppressors. The only possible dialogue is struggle. How can a predominant value system such as consumption be transformed through dialogue? How to implement alternatives whether equitable distribution or simple rejection of the candy mountain and say small is beautiful? Is deindustrialization possible?[3]. Sometimes, dialogue occurs between paradigms in order to break to bi-polar logic [4]. Dialogue may become a way to overcome GPID diversity.

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(1) Sczcepanski's judgment on GPID, on the "Lack of consideration on education, on one possible means on a way out of critical start of societies," is inaccurate since there are two dialogues with Freire's philosophy of education.

(2) The first is H. and M. Escobar: Dialogue in the pedagogical praxis of Paulo Freire, GPID, 64; The second is H. Addo: A world-system critique of Freire's philosophy of education: Naming the world Capitalist reality, GPID, 65.

(3) K. Valaskakis: The big rock Candy mountain: A paradigm of the values of the mass consumption society? GPID, 40.

(4) K. Mushakoji: Scientific revolution and inter-paradigmatic dialogues, GPID, 14, p.16-23; A. J. N. Judge: Representation, comprehensive and communication of sets: The role of number, GPID, 22.

4. Alternatives.

Both projects are looking for alternatives, socio-cultural alternatives in SCA and socio-economic alternatives in GPID. In SCA, since the world is changing, alternatives also change. Because of the importance of "alternatives" and "change" in SCA both words are parts in the title "Socio-cultural Alternatives in a changing world". In GPID, since the world is transforming, ways of life and economic orders are also changing. The issue in both projects is who will launch these alternatives: individual action or historical initiative? In SCA, there are alternatives for creativity, from the exogenous to the endogenous and from the material to the intellectual. Creativity itself is an alternative to transfer of knowledge and Technology or to pure imitations of national legacies. Creativity is the real alternative for tradition and modernity. The present is the alternative of the returning to the past and of the precipitation to the future. Creativity exists also on the level of national behavior in order to change stereotyped images of peoples and cultures. There are alternative technologies, from transfer to creativity, alternative strategies and scenarios in the implementation of national projects, alternative styles of life, from production/consumption to fulfillment and high education, alternative visions of the world to change national praxis, ...etc [1].

In GPID, there are alternative ways of life, alternative political economy and alternative strategy for development [2]. There are even

(1) EIC as a source of diversified re-modeled, enriched and prospective alternatives, EIC,II, p.12; J. Graciarena: Intellectual creation, alternative styles of development and the future of industrial civilization, p.71-84 (Manuscript); Technology generation and Transfer: Transformation alternative, TW,I, p.39-66; M. Pecujleo, Z. Vidakovic, V. Stambuk: Y. Tamanoi: The change of the modern view of nature and alternative Technology (Sophia); Alternative model of consumption and growth; Alternative high education; S.C. Dube: Modernization and development, search for alternative paradigms, CA,V1; Composite culture and socio-political change in India; ch. III, alternative approaches to project strategy, p.54-107; A. Vars: Visions de Mundo y alternative Ideologicas en el conosui! El caso chileno, CA,III, Geo-cultural visions of the world; Braune de: Euro-centrism and its alternative, CA,III; M. Pecujlic: alternatives; sociological analysis, EIC,V.

(2) Alternative ways of life in contemporary Europe is a whole volume; Also; from Atlantic Alliance to Pan-European Entente, political economic alternatives, DST, p.125-182; The task of Alternative Strategy, DST, p.107-108.

alternatives to fulfill human basic needs and to find solutions for the problem of hunger [1]. There are also alternative approaches and methods for the study of needs [2]. The strategy of auto-centered self-reliant development is an alternative to global social democracy in the NEO [3]. In GPID alternatives cannot only be in reality but also in visions. An alternative vision where all change is against the classical concept that change is only a material and temporal aspect of life where as the good and valued were immutable and unchanging. Alternatives imply choices and costs. If directions of alternative change they can be utopian or destopian, in visions they are mostly utopian, regarding the fulfillment of the particular needs, of the desire of universal or of the organizational and institutional setting [4]. The question is how to implement these utopian visions. Is it possible to keep the balance between freedom and equality?[5]. Transformational society is reality rather than a vision of the future. The distinction between theories of social change, between exogenous and endogenous is similar to the same main distinction in

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(1) S. George: An issue paper: Contributed by the food study group of the GPID project, GPID, 2, p.20-22; Alternative radical needs, HN, p.222-225; A. Heller: Can true and false needs be posited, HN, p, 213-226.

(2) Some remarks about an alternative approach, RN, p.243-249; G. Rist: Basic questions about basic human needs, RN, p.233-253; Environment-related-needs, an attempt towards methodological alternatives, RN, p.273-276, in K. Lederer: Needs methodology: The environmental case, RN, p.259-278.

(3) F. Mansour: Global social democracy and the NIEO, GPID, 12, p.22-24.

(4) Changing alternatives from the particular regarding basic needs and beyond are fulfilled in the following manners: 1- Widening of individual roles and choices; 2- Increase in the scope of social life; 3- Better standard of living. There are other normative fulfillments such as: (a) A re-orientation of society; (b) Expansion of social life in more personal and less collective terms; (c) creation of new social roles and challenges; (d) Role of work and non work in society needs to be recast; (e) Reconceptualization of the locus of wealth and powers in society; (f) Redirection of social and economic growth. Regarding the Universal, Alternatives occur in the following manners: (i) Reduction of global tensions and crisis, military, economic, social and environmental; (ii) Redesign of technological and economic systems; (iii) Redesigning the institutional challenge. The question is who will implement these utopian visions? J. Mchale, M.C. Mchale: Exploring alternative social visions, VDS, p.89-99; Alternative visions of desirable societies, YDS, p.125-141.

(5) A. Sicinski: How is a vision of a transformational society, YDS, P.101-108.

SCA [1]. If traditional left and right are for economic growth with more equitable distribution, then politics become deadlock. If ecological rightists are technological optionists and ecological leftists are anti-growth, from where would change come? Alternatives appear in both SCA and GPID in processes. SCA describes the unfolding processes in NIO through a whole historical period in scenarios. Socio-cultural alternatives appear in socio-political processes and structures [2]. Creativity as an alternative appears in institutional processes [3]. In GPID, processes appear much more. They cover a whole sub-project on Processes after Goals, Expansion and exploitation, liberation and autonomy, militarization, UN system and alternative strategies and scenarios, all are the perceptive images of processes [4]. The whole world is in process and counter process. Since processes are global they have world models from which alternatives upsurge [5].

5. Development.

Both projects focus on development, human, social and cultural with different accents. Development is the main topic in GPID and figures even in the title [6]. While SCA concentrates on cultural development, GPID concentrates on social development called social transformation. Developmentalism is equal to expansionism, exploitation, hegemony and Europeanization [7]. Both social and cultural development

(1) J. Dator: Loose connections: A vision of a transformational society, VDS, p.25-45.

(2) The understanding of the NIO as a global set of processes unfolding through a whole historical period and hopefully leading a multi-polar world through a variety of scenarios, EIG, IV, p.106; Composite-culture and socio-political change in India; Session, IV; Political structures and processes, p.151-184; Session, VII; Socio-economic structures and processes p.235-265.

(3) EIC,II, Section, II, III, ... Analysis of the institutions promoting and the processes conducive to institutional promotions of IC.

(4) J. Galtung: GPID, a project description, p.5, p.7-8.

(5) J. Galtung: Global processes and the world in the 1980; Prolegomenon I for a GPID world model, GPID, 52; Also, J. Galtung: World conflict formation processes in the 1980: Prolegomenon III for a GPID world model, GPID, 54; III Third world processes and counter processes, p.21-24; IV the second world ... p.25-29; V, The people's Republic of China, ... p.30-33; V. The first world ... p.39, VII. The East-West-conflict ... p.40-49.

(6) Main titles are: DST, SIHD, TCD, HDSC.

(7) DST, p.22, p.24.

are human development. Both have originated from the same HSD [1]. SCA describes development whether in industrialized civilizations or over-development societies or in under-developed and less industrialized societies in order to know the impact of industrialization on intellectual creativity and civilizational dynamics [2]. SCA would combine the changing world view with living systems and entropy as well as with the analysis of local communities and case studies [3]. SCA would also analyze over-development, as represented by the industrial complex in Japan to show the industrial exploitation method, the logic and reality of base exploitation and calls for a switch from imported development to endogenous growth [4].

In SCA, the analysis of growth, development and progress is similar to GPID analysis of the same topics, but in order to depict the historical time [5]. Development is tied to national revolution and mass mobilization. Political development is a prerequisite for social and economic development [6]. Both SCA and GPID would conceive development as human development in social context. Creativity occurs in a social context in SCA and is related to development in GPID [7].

(1) V. Milanovic: Human aspects of the medical sciences: Medical technology and physician responsibility, TW,I, p.79-81; Also in GPID, the cultural argument: The underlying cosmology, the dichotomy between the spiritual and the material DWL, p.121-131.

(2) EIC, III, J. Graciarena: Intellectual creation, alternative styles of development and the future of industrial civilization; EIC,IV, D. Poppola: Technological transfer and industrial development in Africa.

(3) Y. Tamanoi: The change of modern view of nature and alternative technology; Appendix: Community stores in Okinawa. What is energy? The disposal of entropy, water and soil (Sophia).

(4) K. Miyamoto: Balance sheet of development through the industrial complex.

(5) EIC,I, Section 1: The crisis of leading ideas of growth, development, progress and historical time.

(6) EIC, IV, Y. Diallo: Revolution national et development.

(7) EIC, II, L. Zea: Development of cultural creation in Latin America; C. Furtado: Cultural creation and dependent development; V. Besarovic: Obstacles Juridiques à la creativité intellectuelle endogéne; lere partie, Cadres sociaux et juridiqes de la créativité intellectuelle endogéne, p.6-52; Conditions sociales en tant que determinants decisive dans le development de la creativité intellectuelle, p.22-26; Creativité dans deivers systems socio-politiques, p.41-42; S. Munshi: Language, creativity and identity, in the Indian sub-continent, a study in EIG; Intellectual creativity and social life, p.17-24; Workshop on creativity and the integration of traditions and modern attitudes with special reference to Bangladesh and the Indian sub-continent, Chittagong, 1980; S. George: The hunger problématique and a critique of research, GPID, 49; Section IV, creativity and development, p.34-41.

In both SCA and GPID, there is a research of human needs and quality of life to promote social development [1]. In SCA, the processes of under-development can be understood through social economic dynamics, whether on the economic level or on cultural level [2]. Development has also its psychological context, organizational structure and environmental conditions. East Asia irrigation agriculture society has its impact on culture and political systems (Despotism rule and local autonomy, institutionalization of customary laws ...etc.) [3]. Development does not endanger cultural identity and specificity [4].

6. Science And Technology.

Being in the modern world, both projects deal with science and Technology. SCA gives the topic a whole volume (TW,I) as formative factors of contemporary civilization. Science changed the modern view of nature and promoted an alternative technology. It changes human attitudes towards nature and creates new methodology [5]. GPID would also look for indicators of science and Technology system [6]. Both SCA and GPID would criticize Technology transfer as against creativity in SCA and as an expression of developmentalism in NIEO in GPID [7]. SCA would stress the importance of legal protection

(1) S.C. Dube: Modernization and development; IV Social development: Human needs and quality of life, p.95-121; Individual needs and the welfare imperative, in: H. Rytovuori: Revaluating interdependence. What was it? Where did it come from? p.22-24.

(2) S.K. Saha: A process of under-development: The socio-economic dynamics in Bangladesh; Anupam Sen: Development and under- development of the Indian sub-continent and the theories of modernization; Composite-Culture and socio-political change in India, Section IV; Genesis of growth of composite culture: The formative influence, p.108-126.

(3) M. Bairy: Psychological conditions for the optimal receptivity of new (Foreign) elements, the Japanese case; R. Tsurumi: From environmental disruption to endogenous development, a case study of Minamata; A. Tamaki: Organization of East Asia irrigation agriculture society; Y. Marai: The potential for self-reliant development in Indonesia (Sophia).

(4) This fear is expressed by A. Touraine, ER, p.6-7, p.25-31.

(5) Y. Tamanai: The change of the modern view of nature and alternative Technology; Y. Yanase: Methodological analysis of science and Technology in Japan (Sophia).

(6) HISD, Indicators of the Science-Technology system, p.184-194.

(7) G. Aseniero: Technology and development: NIEO's quest for Technology transfer, TWE, p.220-241; EIC,IV, D. Pappolai Technological transfer and industrial development in Africa.

of scientific and technological realization in defense of intellectual creativity [1]. Both SCA and GPID describe science and technology in social setting, Development in GPID and Technology in SCA, both are social transformations. SCA would even play the role of GPID and show the impact of scientific and technological revolution on urban and rural societies [2]. In SCA, both science and technology are intellectual manifestations in society like Religion and philosophy [3]. In GPID, science and technology are rejected AWL and in TWE and maintained as hopes in VDS [4]. SCA would finally distinguish between two opposite roles of science and technology: an oppressive role and a liberating role. Both are situated in an emancipation/autonoray process similar to GPID expansion/exploitation, liberation/autonomy processes. Repressive role appears in case of bureaucracy, technocracy, elitism, militarization and metropolitan technology. Liberating role appears in case of transformation of labor, alternative models of consumption and growth, alternative high education ...etc [5]. It is very difficult indeed in both projects to know whether science and technology issue is reality or myth [6].

7. Self-Reliance.

Both projects, being critical to cultural and economic Western hegemony calls for self-reliance and independency. SCA stresses the importance of historical initiative, national independence and the

(1) V. Besarovic: Obstacles juridiques à la créativité intellectuelle endogéne; protection juridique des realizations scientifiques et Technologiques, p.53-122.

(2) TW,II: The scientific and technological revolution, its impact on urban and rural societies, p.54-106.

(3) TW,II: Science, Technology and Religion, p.83; EIC,II, J.L. Lopes: Reflections on science and the tasks of society.

(4) J. irvine, I. Miles: Science and Technology as critical issues for alternative ways of life, AWL, p.157-171; I. Miles: New Technologies, VDS, p.205-244.

(5) M. Pecujlio, S. Vidakovic, V. Stambuk: Technology and transformation of society; New spaces for Freedom.

(6) Abdel-Rahman thinks that "The technological and economic considerations have been under-represented a part from the fact that the outputs as can be expected varied in quality", Abdel-Rahman, ER, p.31-32.

united front as prolegomena for self-dependence. Theories of dependency or even interdependency are always in favor of old big powers or creating new power centers and new sources of power in the international system at the costs of national sovereignty [1]. In GPID, there is also a rejection of dependency school and a call for self-reliance facing NIEO. Developmentalism is also rejected because it follows the leader ideology [2]. In SCA self-reliance is an ideal concept which has its impact on socio-economic development. It does not only belong to auto-determination but it is at the very base of agriculture and food production. It applies in the Third World, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Self-reliance is a model of development viable in all societies and for all nations [3]. It is a permanent and a universal alternative combining the farmer's and the scientist's wisdom, capable of rural industries and dealing with traditional organizations. Creativity is autonomous, independent and self-reliant. Dependency means exogeneity [4]. Self-reliance is the way for making science and Technology new space for Freedom [5]. In GPID, whether in utopian thought or in scientific analysis, theory of dependency is strongly rejected. Interdependence model is also incompatible with self-reliance [6]. The relation of the Third World to the West is a relation of dependency. A common denominator of most alternative development in the Third World is self-reliance. The self-reliance paradigm in development theory in Latin America, opens a new strategy inward looking development instead of outward looking development. Dependency

(1) H. Rytövuoni: Revaluating interdependence: What was it? Where did it come from? What did it lead to?.

(2) Friberg, Hettne: Reference to dependency school in DST, p.211-221, S. Amin: Self-reliance and the NIEO, TWE, p.204-219, G. Asenicro: A reflection on developmentalism; The developmentalist theory of stages, or the follow-the-leader ideology, DST, p.70-73.

(3) EIC,IV: Greater self-reliance in agricultural and food productivity, p.107; Y. Murai: The potential for self-reliance development in Indonesia (Sophia); II.5, development of corrupted relations with foreign Capitalists and dependency on them.

(4) EIC,II, C. Furtado: Cultural creation and dependent development: Th. Dos Santos: Culture and dependence in Latin America; Some points of methodology and history.

(5) M. Pecujlio, Z. Vidakovic, V. Stambuk: Technology and transformation of society, new spaces for freedom, Beograd, 1983.

(6) A. Nandy: Towards a Third World, VDS, p.198-200; B. Van Streenbergen: The frugality society, a future design for the First World, VDS, p.128, p.131, p.138.

theory is no longer valid and can be transcended [1]. An auto-centered self-reliant development is the solution for the crisis of social democracies projected in the NIEO. NIEO itself is a foreign policy consequence of dependency [2]. Development, through industrialization in developing countries in the framework of dependency, aggravates poverty and enriches the already industrial countries [3]. Even the fulfillment of individual and social basic needs requires self-reliance [4]. Even indicators are related to self-reliance. Self reliance is an indicator of development [5]. Self-reliance in both SCA and GPID is not only individual but also and even more essentially collective. It requires the mobilization of all powers of creativity in the individual as well as in society, in the citizen as well as in the nation. It requires also mass-mobilization not only mass-education. Self-reliance is not only a theory in economy but a theory in political economy [6]. Self-reliance is a people centered development called in an evaluation report Populism [7]. Populism is an indigenous development thinking such as Gandhism, Maoism (Asia), African socialist commoncracy (Africa), Indigenismo (Latin America). The rise of Islam in Iraq, Iran, Tunisia ...etc. is also related to populism [8]. Since development is based on collective self-reliance, it has an organizational context based on people's participation. State paradigm inhibits participation. A new

(1) M. Friberg, B. Hettne; G. Tamm: Societal change and development thinking, an inventory issue, GPID, 6, p.1.

(2) F. Mansour: Global social democracy and the NIEO, GPID, 12, p.22-24; H. Addo: Approaching the NIEO dialectically and transformatically, GPID, 53; Interdependence, p.53-57.

(3) O. Kreye: Perspectives for development through industrialization in the 1980: An independent view point on dependency, GPID,37.

(4) E. Musini: Needs, social and self-reliance, HN, p.228-230; Needs and dynamics, p.227-231.

(5) C.A. Mills: On social indicators and development, GPID, 33; II: The identification of socio-economic indicators relevant to the goals of autonomous self-reliant development and the alleviation of the human condition. p.23-33.

(6) EIC,IV; C.K. Omari: On the mobilization and integration of endogenous potential for creativity: The different visions among first generation of African politicians; J. Nishi Kawa: The political economics of self-reliance (Sophia).

(7) M.P. Hollnsteiner: Towards a people-centered endogenous intellectual creativity; Historical testimony from the Philippines, EIC,I, p.177-194; A. Touraine, ER, p.19-24.

(8) M. Friberg, B. Hettne, G. Tamm: Societal change and development thinking; An inventory Issue, GPID, G, p.7; H. Addo: Approaching the NIEO dialectically and transformationally, GPID, 53; Collective self-reliance, p.60, p.68.

participatory paradigm can rally popular support for development [1]. Collective self-reliance is also an indicator for development [2].

8. Beyond Euro-Centricity.

Both projects contain large elements for dewesternization, going beyond Euro-centricity, in order to discover the whole world in space and time where Europe is only a small part and a short period. SCA rediscovers Africa, Asia and Latin America. EIC sub-project is just the alternative for cultural hegemony of West. SCA is a vehement critique of Western project: maximum of production, for maximum of production, for maximum of happiness. The project failed after the crisis of production, the overflow of goods, energy crisis and spiritual malaise [3]. In SCA, Eurocentricity is called most often westernization, the impact of the Euro-centric West on Third World intellectuals. Euro-centricity and westernization are the same phenomena; the first is the image of the Third World for Western intellectuals, the other is the image of the West for Third World intellectuals. Western intellectuals are very conscious of themselves while Third World intellectuals are unconscious, pure imitators. The first group is endogenous while the second is exogenous. The first is national, the second is international. Sometimes Euro-centricity is called Westernism, the objective presence of the West in the Third World. Westernization now then means Westernism in consciousness, a mental and psychological attitude in individual and collective consciousness [4]. Because of Westernism, there are in every non-Western society and culture two trends or two types of

(1) Cl. F. Alger: The organizational context of development: Illuminating paths for wider participation, GPID, 17, p.9-12.

(2) SIHD, p.25.

(3) Radical criticism of Western rationality, TW,III, p.84; The dewesternizing and modernizing trend is especially vehement in Asia, EIC,I, p.11; M. Bernal: Western classicism and Europe's hegemony of history, 1780-1980; Braun De: Euro-centrism and its alternatives, CA, III.

(4) "The ideology born in those days was Westernism which constituted the backbone of Japan's modernization. We can now talk about the ideology of Westernism in relative terms. Pre-occupation with the drive to reject Westernism without looking back at his background reality would be nothing but letting oneself become captive to the old and yet even new idolatry called Orientalism or Japanism" EIC,I, P.11.

intellectuals and scholars: The Western-imitative and the autochthonous creative, the same duality between exogenous and endogenous [1].

GPID would criticize also Westernism. It is a worldview determining the perception of the West and appears in Western human and social sciences. Western social cosmology is characterized by: Western-centered conception of time; Analytical rather than holistic conception of epistemology; Man-over-man conception of human relation; Man-over-nature conception of revolution to nature. Moreover, Western social structure conception of relations to nature is characterized as follows: A vertical division of labor favouring the center; A conditioning of the periphery by the center; Marginalization, a division between a social inside and outside; Fragmentation, separation of individuals from each other; Segmentation, separation inside individuals [2]. In trends of development thinking a universalistic and globalist critique tries to transcend Euro-Centric bias of the main stream and its limited concept of development. There is Western models of development: Classical liberal model, the state capitalist model, the state, the market and the techno-scientific establishment model. There are also non-Western models such as self-reliance versus Westernization [3].

In GPID, Euro-centricity appears also as an epistemology inherent into social science and expressing an axiology (Western ethnocentrism) and even an ontology (Western racialism). Scientific neutrality or objectivity is a myth because Euro-centricity is a world view, dominating Western social science and expressing the relation between center and periphery. In spite of intellectual courage in

(1) "... The differentiation of the cultural and political elites of non-Western societies in major schools of thought and intellectual tendencies, i.e., mainly the modernizers-Westernizers, on the one hand, and the autochthonous, national schools of thought and formative tendencies, on the other hand. EIC,II, p.14; Also, H. Lefebvre: Les concepts de classe, de nation et d'Etat: Aspects de l'Euro-centrism, TW,I, p.27-42 (Proceedings).

(2) HN, P.71-89; Needs Westernization: Then problem areas, in J. Galtung: The basic needs approach, p.55-130.

(3) M. Friberg, B. Hettne, G. Tamm: Societal change and development thinking. An inventory of issues, GPID, 6, p.6, p.13-19.

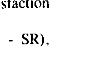
unveiling the hidden Euro-centrism behind Western so-called scientific discourse, sometimes Euro-centricity is reduced either to pure economics or to pure politics, making abstraction of Racialism (Romanism and Barbarianism) and reversed-Christianity, anti-Christianism and the returning to original paganism. The West was never Christian but stayed always Barbarian, Roman and Pegan in spite of literature, art and mysticism. Sometimes Euro-centricity is reduced to pure history making abstraction of synchronic description and structural analysis [(1)]. GPID has a whole project of Euro-centricity criticism in the field of political economy. Imperialism, the permanent stage of Capitalism, is only the first volume. Sometimes Euro-centricity appears incurable. It needs a whole change in world order as if power relations between nations is transposed to Epistemology, Axiology and even Orthology. Even Marxism which is supposed to carry out a new universalism is the victim of Euro-centrism specially Orthodox Marxism [(2)]. Even in GPID Utopian Thought Euro-centricity is unveiled, perceived and rejected [(3)]. GPID sometimes uses the same categories of SCA such as cultural identity, self-reliance, needs with the same results and the same conclusions [(4)]. GPID just puts them in axioms, symbols, diagrams,

(1) H. Addo: Prologue: The Euro-centric state of the discipline, GPID, 69.

(2) A world-system critique of Euro-centric conceptions in political economy: Vol.I; Imperialism: The permanent stage of Capitalism.

(3) Third World nationalism is very different from Euro-centric chauvinism, VDS, p.267; J. Somavia: Democratization and Transnationals in Latin America; A look into the future, VSD, p.263-268.

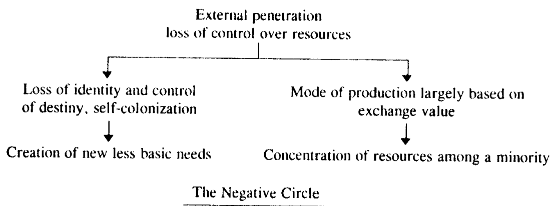
(4) R. Preiswerk: Cultural identity, self-reliance and basic needs, GPID, 8; The conclusions are guidelines such as:
- a- The affirmation of cultural identity favors the satisfaction of basic needs (CI - BN).
- b- The affirmation of cultural identity supports the implementation of self-reliant development strategy (CI - SR).
- c- The search for the satisfaction of basic needs strengthens cultural identity (BN - CI).
- d- A self-reliant development strategy strengthens cultural identity (SR - CI).
- e- A self-reliant development strategy favors the satisfaction of basic needs (SR - BN).
- f- A basic-needs approach favors self-reliance (BN - SR), P.11-15.



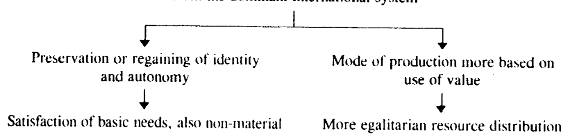
while SCA leaves them as positions, guidelines and orientations. The only difference is the level of analysis, political economy in GPID and cultural epistemology in SCA [1].

GPID addresses a vehement and pertinent critique of Euro-centricity as the stumbling block for Development and NIEO as well. Euro-centric World view is not a science with epistemological innocence, it is even present in a mystified form in orthodox Marxism [2]. Although the West is one homogeneous power it has its own internal conflict, over economic policy, international trade, North-South trade, East-West trade and strategic issues [3]. The Green Movement

(1) CA,III, Section I; Historical hegemony: The traditional visions of the world: Western classicism and Europe's hegemony of history, 1970-1980.
Also, PreiswerK, p.17-18.



The Negative Circle



The Positive Circle

(2) Herb Addo: Beyond Euro-centrism: Transformation and transformational responsibility, DST p.12-47; F. Fr5bel, J. Heinrichs, reye: Deadend: Western economic responses to the global economic crisis, DST p.86-110.

(3) A.G. Frank: From Atlantic Alliance to Pan-European Entente: Political economic Alternatives, DST p.125-182.

wishes restoring the civilizational balance switching from West-wind to East-wind, a major hope in SCA [1].

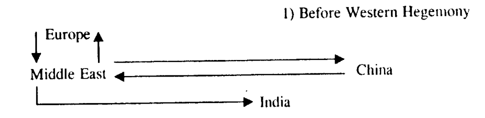
9. New International Order.

Both SCA and GPID analyze the NIO, on cultural/political level (NIO) in SCA and on economic level (NIEO) in GPID [2]. The world is

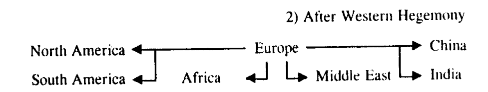
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(1) Mats Friberg and BjSrn Hettne in "The greening of the world awards a non-deterministic model of global processes "make a diagram very similar to the SCA cultural circles showing the image of the world before Western hegemony and after as follows:

1) Before Western Hegemony



2) After Western Hegemony



The Western-World:
1. Western Europe.
2. Eastern Europe (including the Russian part of the USSR).
3. Euro-American (Canada USA, Latin America).
(4) Euro-Oceana (Australia, New Zealand).

The Non-Western World:
1. The Arabic-Islamic World.
2. Sub-Sahara Africa.
3. The Afro-American World (The Caribbean and part of Brazil).
4. The Indo-American World (particularly Central America and Peru).
5. The Islamic Orient (Russia, Pakistan, Indonesia).
6. The Indian sub-continent.
7. The Far East (China, Japan, Vietnam), DST p.238.

(2) EIC,IV, Section IV: On the specificity of the civilizational and cultural contribution of Africa to the shaping of the NIO; EIC,V; Section VI: Western civilizations and cultures facing a NIO.

changing and transforming from a stage to another [1]. Words like "new" and "emerging" appear often [2]. There is a NIO in politics, from domination to liberation, and in culture, from transfer to creativity. GPID also is aware of world Transformation. The world Transformation figures in two major titles: DST, TWE. While NIO in SCA is in favor of emerging new forces, it is in GPID a new camouflage of Western classical Capitalism and hegemony. That is why the sub-title of TWE is Nine critical essays of the NIEO.

In SCA, NIO is a factor in intellectual creativity [3]. There is a whole volume in SCA sub-project, TW,V, on NIO. NIO is not a sudden birth of the present but it carries a weight of a whole historical legacy. The winds of change began by the great wave of national liberation and social revolution since 1945. A second wave began by a historical initiative Bandeong and the rise of the Orient and the three continents and the emergence of the major middle powers. NIO is still in the making depending on the struggle between national independence and sovereignty on one side and the still going-on superpower's hegemony on the other side. The fall of Grenada and the retreat of Islamic World is contemporary to Vasco de Gama and the birth of European Empire. Scenarios and patterns are taking birth

(1) In SCA, lot of titles reveals this passage from a stage to another. For example, from intellectual dependence to creativity, TW,I, p.120-151; From domination to liberation, TW,I, p.4-38; The transition from choices to action, from decision to praxis, TW,I, p.XV; From developmentalism to civilizational quest, a mission of the UNU, TW,II, p.6-12; C. Furtado: From the ideology of progress to the ideology of development, TW,11, p.18-17; Changing pattern in world economy, TW,II, p.18-53; I. EL-Zaim: Changing patterns in world economy and the transition to the NIEO, TW,III, p.41-46.

(2) For instance, social power: The emergence of new socio-political forces, TW,III, p.40-61; Emerging NIO, TW,IV; New universalism, new society, EIC,I, p.599-606; Emerging of a NIO; EIC and the emerging NIO; Socio-cultural creativity in the converging and restructuring processes of the new emerging world; EC and the NIEO; EIG and the emerging NIO; Tsurumi: EIC and the emerging NIO with special reference to East Asia, TW,II, p.110-126.

(3) EIC,II; Section V; Analysis of intellectual creation and its significance for the creation of a new world and a NIO; EIC, IV, L. Edmondson: Transcontinental Pan-Africanism and a search for a NIO; K. Tsurumi: EIC and the emerging NIO, with special reference to East Asia, TWII, p.110-126.

on the political level similar to scenarios and new patterns in GPID on economic level. NIO is conceived in the framework of international relations, nuclear arms race, change of power relations, the rise of the Third World, the desire for human liberation through the grass roots stratum. NIO also is centered on peace, oriented towards technology and international co-operation and based on human dignity. Japan as a peaceful and technological State is a major formative factor in NIO[1].

In SCA, NIEO is just one practical aspect which leads to a more global order, that of civilizations [2]. It is still related to politics, not pure economy, and related to nations, not only to internationalism. In the Pre-NIEO period, dependence was on big powers. Imperialism domination and anarchic self-reliance were two consequences. In the past NIEO period, self-reliance in appearance took over. NIEO is still an exogenous development, not an endogenous one [3]. Like GPID, SCA describes the orientation of NIEO, in what direction and in whose interest, spelling out its major sources in three: First, the revolution of the conventional/pre-Capitalistic economic theories of

(1) M. Yanase: Methodological analysis of science and Technology in Japan. A possible contribution towards the construction of NIO; K. Kawada: Multipolarized world and a NIO; S. Ogata: The Japanese role in the construction of the NIO in the context of NN diplomacy (Sophia).
(2) M. Pecujlio, Z. Vidakovic, V. Stambuk: Technology and Transformation of society. New spaces for Freedom; The NIEO, from order to civilization.
(3) J. NishiKawara: The political economics of self-reliance: Problem of domestic mobilization of resources in the NIEO.

	Pre-NIEO Dependence Big Powers		Post-NIEO Self-reliance	
Relinkage	Imperialism Dominance	Anarchaic self-reliance	Vertical Interpretation	Horizontal Interpretation
Endogenous Development NIEO	- -	+ +	- -	+ +

the international economy; Second, reformist and new Left theories of the world Capitalist economy; Third, Marxist theory of the world Capitalist economy. SCA analyses also four historical stages, motive forces, inequalities and antagonistic relations of the world Capitalistic economy in order to explain the present NIEO. The first stage is from 15th to 18th Centuries including mercantilism, colonialism and capital accumulation. The second is the post-industrial revolution and the productive capital. The third goes from the last third of the 19th Century monopoly capital. The forth began since the second war. A great attention is given to the consequences of those four stages on Africa, Asia and Latin America [(1)].

SCA deals also with NIO not only in relation to economics but also in relation to society and legal systems. NIO has its impact on environmental and ecological problems given the new center of industrialization in the non-Western World without protection of human beings since these centers are outside Europe, the only place for human rights![(2)]. SCA gives also a historical analysis of legal systems from feudalism to universal principle of right through the comity, from the origins to Westphaly peace, Versailles Treaty, society of nations till United Nations fundamental principles of the Charter stipulating: Abolition of civilization's privilege, condemnation of war of aggression, establishment of a structural link between peace and the promotion of human rights and fundamental liberties for all. Since that time the enchanted circle of Western customs was cut. A new era of opening the doctrine of International Law towards non-European cultures began. The era of decolonization imposed itself on International Law: The legal principle of the colonized people's right for self determination, the right of national liberation movements of decolonizing people. In spite of the stress on NIO in International Law NIEO being only a special case, the classical liberal economic

(1) T. Szentes: Transformation of world economy and society. in what direction and in whose interest?

(2) K. Tsurumi: From environmental disruption to endogenous development, (Sophia); An ecological approach of the NIO, EIC, p.478-598.

order since 1945 is criticized as being an expression of the decision of the world since Yalta between the big powers [1].

In GPID, partnership model and corporate response grown up in the post-war period in industrialized countries aimed at less competition in the West and more exploitation the Third World [2]. The call for NIEO was an attempt to establish global social democracy for popular political representation through political action and economic trade unionism, for gaining better positions for the under-privileged within existing systems in the framework of class alliance and coherence of individual ideologies, to solve the problem in the Third World of social justice and political freedom. However, global social democracy in spite of its potentialities has its own limits. National Capitalism cannot survive without working class, monopoly capital and in a heterogeneous Third World. It is usually forced from outside or based on organized stagnation [3].

According to GPID, NIEO is a world of Capitalist expansion where there are two winners and two losers [4]. The two losers are the North-West, the old International economic order directorate on one hand and the people in general in the Third World on the other hand. The winners are South-East, the NIEO on one hand and the elite in the Third World on the other hand. The rise of South-East and the decline of the North-West is very similar to SCA, from West-wind to East-wind The India, China and Japan are the core of the East. They have the material as well as the moral powers for a new upheaval. Losers are USA and Western Europe. The unity between USA and USSR is conceivable. The chance of this scenario did not come before because China was down, Occidentalization processes did not go far enough and the opportunity did not come,

(1) F. Rigaux: Du féodalisme à des principes universels de droit, à travers la comity, TW.V. RR.

(2) F. Frébel, J. Heinrichs, O. Kreye: Deadend ...; The postwar growth and partnership model in the industrialized countries, DST, p.89-97; Corporate response, p.93.

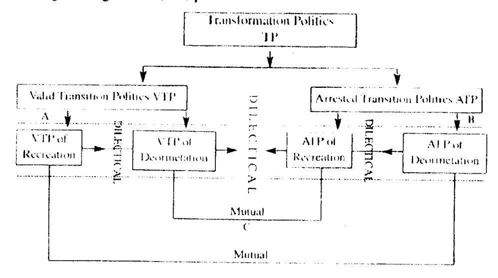
(3) F. Mansour: Global social democracy and the NIEO, GPID, 12, p.10-21.

(4) J. Galtung: World conflict formation processes in the 198Os: Prolegomenon III, for a GPID world model GPID, 54, p.6-11.

the weakening of the West by decolonization and NIEO. Here a question arises: How far can science permit prophecies?

GPID would give more detailed scenarios of NIEO development processes and counter-processes regarding the Third, the Second and the First worlds. In the Third World there will be an aggravated internal gaps, class contradictions and upper-class conflicts. Counter process will also generate an unexpected revolutions from religion fundamentalism (Iran), anti-Western and anti-materialist. How far Islamic fundamentalism in Iran is a counter-process is questionable. The Second World is represented by USSR and China. USSR follow a scenario of seven points: farmers/peasants demanding larger plots, workers demanding protection against apparent, intellectuals wanting freedom, social bourgeoisie wanting consumers-goods, minorities, periphery State Capitalist countries and (Romania), Communist parties, all want autonomy. The Second World is orienting itself towards modernization. The scenario of the First World is as follows: more top-heavy society and more bureaucrat Capitalist. higher unemployment civilizational diseases, mental disorders, cardiovascular diseases, malignant tumors, cancers, killing 20% of the population like Norway. Counter-processes are represented by the Green wave. Finally, East-West conflict is located inside Capitalism. North-West is centered on US/Nato periphery while North-East is centered on SU/WATO periphery[1].

(1) J. Galtung: Prolegomenon, III, p.34-40.



Once more, NIEO is dealt with in GPID dialectically and transformationally. The old slogans failed because of poverty of vision of classical Capitalism. In NIEO, nothing is New. Capitalism remained the same, only adopting itself to new accumulated wealth, powers and market. A new order is conditioned by changing the relation center periphery (1). Valid transition politics can be deorientated or recreated. NIEO is a form of deorientation of valid political transition (2).



(1) H. Addo: Approaching the NIEO dialectically and transformationally, GPID, 53; "... so that it can appear to be changing while, in fact, it remains essentially the same", p.9; "If the periphery economics want a really new order, one that is equitable and just, the newness in this order should undermine the old by affecting the internal roots of periphery external dependency or the center. As long as the new order is directed at the exploitation resulting from Capitalist domination alone to neglect the internal roots of the dependency factor, not much of a new order can result" p.27.

(2) "Valid transition politics has its oriented contents in the form of politics of valid deorientation, which aims to negate the politics of valid transition politics. The politics of valid transition remains such because its politics of reaction dominates its politics of orientation. The reverse holds true in the case of politics of arrested transition, where its policies of recreation aids the arrested orientation, and predominates over the politics of deorientation which aims to negate arrested orientation in the primary opposite of policies arrested transitions".

Conclusion: On the Importance of Oecumenic Mind and the Necessity of New Praxis

Only a Hegelian can absorb all theses materials: Books, reports, papers, Research Reports, Volume Reports presented by SCA and GPID. It is natural to lose the track. This is because the two projects did not work together, hand in hand, because of human competition, envy or mistrust, divergences can only be seen, not convergences. Indeed, both projects are stemming out of one major theme which is HSD. Both projects study development, called change in SCA. Both consider Development as social transformation (GPID) or as Cultural Renaissance (SCA). Results in the two projects are convergent more than divergent.

The Issue in both projects, and for the HSD program, is to switch from Hegel to Feuerbach, a young Marxist, that means from Logos to praxis, from critique of ideology to critique of society. The challenge is not how to promote intellectual exercises in isolated circles and publishing books but to help in changing realities themselves by transforming these results from the high pulpit down to the streets where masses live. The challenge is how to transform these new converging ideas to realities, to initiate the process of social change. This is not beyond scholarship but within

it [1]. It is stipulated in both projects as the ultimate goal [2]: A new program for the RGSD may be between the previous theory and coming praxis [3]. Now then, United Nations University becomes more than a place for intellectual exercise but a leading figure for the cause of Development [4]. It Is unfair and even cruel to say that such projects can bring mostly trivialities. However, social sciences do not have direct practical results as natural sciences. The results are symptoms for a historical period. Their influences appear on the long run after being implemented through mass-praxis. They can help in forming new scholars giving them new visions. Scholars are the vanguard in social and political movements. However, from SCA/GPID projects some lessons can be learned:

1. The importance of the Hegelian mind, that means the power of synthesizing and bringing the diversity back to its original unity, chopping additions, completing gaps, converging divergences, diversifying abstract unity, creating tensions, preventing repetitions, stressing accents, showing focuses, and finalizing the project. This can only be done by a scholar not by an administrator.

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(1) This has been observed by all evaluation reports, "To reach practical and feasible conclusions from the research studies." Abdel-Rahman, p.19; "Recommendations are not strange in Report". p.2; The same remark is made by Sczepanski "... a real contribution to the advancement of knowledge, but the advance of practice is quite a different story "Sczcepanski, p.41; "Besides theoretical assessment, what is the practical significance of the results of this project in relation to development strategies? Sczcepanski: p.42; Abdel-Rahman sees the practicality more possible;" The return of these studies is rather intellectual than practical but more usable results would be obtained with additional effort". p.31 "As a whole, the project output especially if completed would present a valuable contribution to knowledge but not equally much to practical application or teaching in the present form", p.32.

(2) EIG, II: M. Bendetti: Culture of the man of action and IC. However, Sczcepanski askes: "Have the targets of the project as originally designed been compatible, consistent meaningful and realistic? Sczeepanski, p.39.

(3) Sczcepanski remarks " HSDP got in results of GPID a firm intellectual foundation, but how the finding will be translated into practical recommendation ...? Sczcepanski, p.41.

(4) Sczcepanski considers GPID as just an intellectual exercise. "Have the results of the project contributed in any meaningful way to the realization of the objectives of the UN as established in the Charter? GPID Is just that!" Sczcepanski, p.43.

2. Projects have to work together to prevent overlapping and to purify scholars from human passions such as competition, envy or mistrust. The theme work within every project has to be generalized among projects. If such inter-theme work is not feasible, at least, an inter-coordinators theme can be formed to synthesize the projects, to prevent overlapping, to initiate comparisons and to build up the vision of the RGSD for accumulation of knowledge necessary for decision-making.

3. More precisions are required for thematic projects. Instead of dividing each project to several sub-projects, each goes independently. Afterwards, it becomes difficult to keep track of all diverse sub-projects going too far from the original departure. Given the importance of certain sub-projects they can become independent projects. The autonomy of important sub-projects is completely natural.

4. More focus is to be given to the project rather than to sub-projects in order not to lose the original unity. Diversity is an enrichment of the unity not a substitute to it. The part can be more significant if it is still linked to the whole. Diverging rays of the sun are in the same time converging rays towards it.

5. Unity of methodology and diversity of approach are better than proliferate methodology losing the main theme. Diversified schools of thought do not imply necessarily eclectism but mutual enrichment, shedding light from different perspectives and inciting intellectual stimulation through arguments and counter-arguments.

6. Research-projects have to be new, not the on-going research in other universities and institutes. In this case, the role of UNU is only confined to network and net-working. New projects conceived by UNU give more opportunity for new research possibilities focusing on UNU themes rather than linking artificially already existing sub-projects. It is difficult to bring parts to the whole if they did not originate primarily from it.

7. Small scale projects are more feasible and controllable than large scale ones. Small scale projects are limited in time. Time prolongation

is a negative factor in creativity. Scholars and coordinators may change visions, methods of analyses and goals may also alter. A two year project is more feasible than 5 year or 7 years project.

8. Less meetings and more research is better than research through meetings. Public meetings symposia and conferences follow their own logic of research and have their own standard of science. Most of the papers are written hazily to cope with deadlines. Discussions are more rhetoric than demonstrative. Public relations sometimes take over rigorous science and community of scholars.

9. Publication policy needs more activation. From SCA 34 volumes, only three Report Volumes, TW, I, II, III, are published and two proceedings are memographed (EIC,I, TW,I). 29 books are still waiting and they may have to wait till they are completely forgotten. GPID has eight books published and available. Other five books are published but not available. Two books are for printing, two others are submitted to publication committee. Some first class red-cover papers are not published. It is better to conceive publication policy parallel and simultaneous to manuscript preparation, not years and years hereafter [(1)].

The medium term perspective has some of the characteristics of SCA/GPID [(2)].

1. It is still in some of its major part repetitious. One summary paper would be enough.

2. Some divisions are made for undivided themes as if the idea of sub-projects making the project is still a directing idea, overlapping between themes is a natural consequence.

3. Converging themes are very few as if the experience of GPID on one hand and GPID/SCA on the other hand is still going on. It is easy to lose the thread because of the similarities and overlapping between the several themes.

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(1) GPIDISCA publications plans.

(2) Medium term perspective of the UNU, 1982-1987.

4. Some verbiage similar to that of SCA/GPID appear; slogans, mottos and leitmotifs. It is easy to forge a slogan but it is difficult to implement it [1].

5. The sub-project "cultures and civilization" is still too much, overstretching on cultures, regions and periods of history, a bird stretching its wings over the world. Ten SCA readers would be also too much. More depth is better than more width [2].

6. There are lot of hopes and desires similar to that of SCA. If all this is implemented the world would be perfect. Good intentions are something and feasible research projects are something else.

7. Self-criticism is completely absent. Obstacles, impediments, and limitations of research are left aside. With maximum optimism limitations and conditions disappear.

8. A clear methodology is required to control all the projects and sub-projects at least as major guidelines depending on key-concepts without imposing any method or refusing a priori another method. Directing ideas would finalize the research towards the implementation of its goals.

9. External factors in research such as University bureaus are not determining factors. A university is essentially a research before being an administration. UNU is above all a university before being a UN organization. Accepting the mission of UNU only as Network and Networking is undermining the mission of the university [3].

In order not to confine RGSD to intellectual exercise and in order to contribute in some aspects to decision-making, shying away from pure theoretical descriptions and conceptual definitions since

(1) Report on the planning meeting of the RGSD, Cairo, 16 20 January, 1983.

(2) A. Abdel-Malek: Civilizations and cultures in the making of the New World, project description, Paris, March, 1985.

(3) Networks and Networking: Concepts and modalities RGSD; Report on the planning meeting of the RGSD, Tokyo, 23-25 April, 1984, March 1985; Also Report on the planning meeting of the RGSD, Tokyo, 23-25 April, 1984.

skepticism about the role of intellectuals is spelled out in evaluation reports and questionnaires are done about the usefulness of such project and their possible impact on decision-making centers, some practical recommendations can be given as follows [1]:

1. Weekly seminars for young scholars and staff members, Japanese as well as foreigners residing in Japan studying the same topics, namely development, in Japanese universities to bring in open UNU, away from its isolation from Japanese public life. UNU would then play in Tokyo the same role as UNESCO in Paris.

2. Lectures series by well-known scholars and experts on different topics dealt with in the projects to make wider public more equated with UNU research projects and create an academic atmosphere which will have an equal weight with administrative Code.

3. Joint activities and consultative meetings with decision-making centers to enlighten them scientifically as well as politically. Important conclusions on development has to come out of drawers to be implemented in developing and developed societies.

4. Training young scholars and research assistants specially those of Third World Universities, and helping them in gathering materials, elaborating adequate methodology and forming the future community of scholars.

5. Facilitating research materials for all graduate students studying development in Japan and outside. Several graduate students in Japan and abroad are studying the same topics of UNU projects on development.

6. Formation of research groups sur place such as Arab Alternative Futures to generate research between national scholars who never meet or work together except in common projects sponsored by national or international institutions [2].

(1) Touraine expresses some skepticism about the intellectual input of all SCA; Quels intellectuals, Touraine, p.43-48; Moreover, an evaluation report has been done through questionnaire about the usefulness of the project to participants and its possible impact on the centers who participated in the work, Abdel-Rahman, p.7.

(2) Report on the planning meetings of the RGSD, Cairo, 16-20 January, 1983, p.11-12.

Research projects may interest a region more than another. Peace interests the West after the World War II and the nuclear threat. The Third World is still continuing its national liberation, South Africa, Palestine, Afghanistan, etc. PDS in different religions and ethical systems belong to utopian thought in GPID, although the Third World is interested in its realities or at least the distance between the ideal and the real [1].The Third World may be interested in the problems of race and racial discrimination at the heart of Western culture and European ethnocentricity. It may be also interested in people's rights after Western emphasis on human rights. The Third World would like to analyze its recent history, from revolution in the 1950s and the 1960s to counter-revolutions in the 1970s and the 1980s. What are the factors behind this conversion: middle class, absence of political organizations and mass-mobilization, lack of endogenous political ideology, duality between secular and leadership and traditional masses ...etc. SCA speaks of historical initiative having in mind Bandeong, October War, 1973 and GPID stresses the importance of individual action and rejects deterministic models [2]. However, Camp-David agreements, the recognition of South Africa racialist regime by neighboring revolutionary and Marxist African regimes, Russian invasion of Afghanistan, American invasion of Grenada ...etc. all are facts of the 70s and 80s.

Finally, two major projects may come out from SCA/GPID projects. The first is a follow-up of Euro-centricity transforming it to a whole discipline namely, Occidentalism by opposition to Orientalism. If Orientalism was the image of the Third World in the Western consciousness Occidentalism would be the image of the West in the Third World consciousness. If orientalism expressed hemogenic Western powers and European ethnicity, Occidentalism would be the continuation of national liberation movement on the level of culture

(1) Annual Report, RGSD, January-December, 1984.

(2) P. d'Iribarne: The importance of individual action in the promotion on alternative society, AWL, p.29-35, M. Friberg, B. Rettne: The greening of the world; Elements for a non-deterministic model, DST, P.225-236.

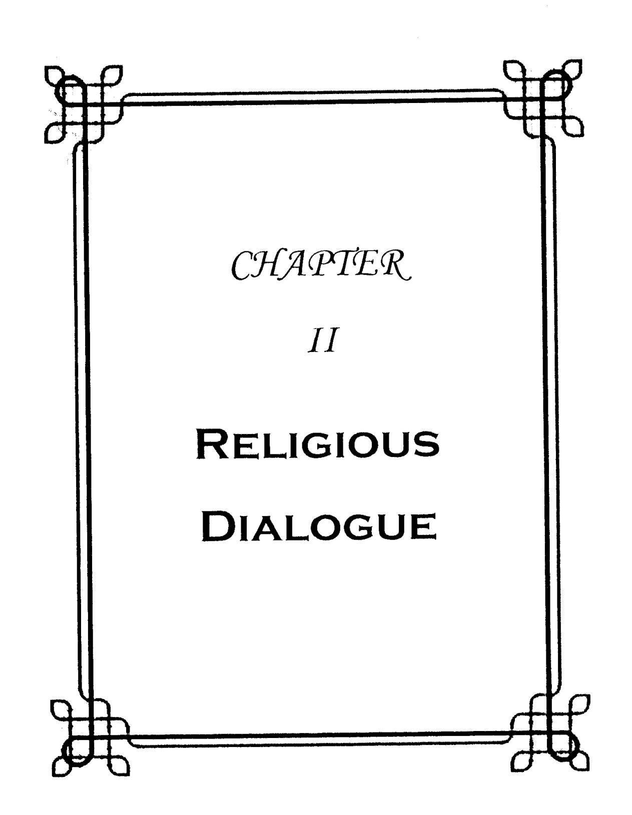
and social science. The liberation occurs this time of the image of the self made by the other. The transformation of the object of yesterday (The Third World becoming an object in Orientalism) to a subject of today. (The Third World becoming an subject in Occidentalism) is the prerequisite of cultural liberation. This requires two things. The first is the destruction of stereotyped images made for the Third World in Orientalism and carried on surreptitiously in social science specially anthropology and history of religions, and openly by the mass-media in the hands of Western powers. By the force repetitions of images realities are falsely created. Truth became Truth-Telling. The right to be informed is withheld. The second is rewriting a new world history where Europe takes its proportional place in time and space Europe is not the center of the world and the peak of history but a very small space in the world with different centers and a small period of times given historical cultures in India, China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and greater Syria ...etc [1]. A new world history as a project may be divided into sub-projects, new world history of philosophy, science, art, etc. The second project is a possible New Third World Social Science Theory. If Euro-centricity is the negative aspect, namely, the discovery of the false image of the self formed by the hemogenic other, a new theory of social science specific for the Third World is the positive aspect. Criticizing Euro-centricity in all levels and all fields is not enough. It liberates oneself from the scientific domination of the other as a prolegomena to create its own discipline. Criticizing the other using its own methodology would be a false liberation. New methodology, new theories, new approaches and new visions and concepts can be structured in an independent theory of social science for the Third World. Criticism of Euro-centricity without offering the alternative would be only a reaction of the self to the action of the other. Without creating a new discipline for the Third World, the liberation of the self would be abortive liberation. Therefore, negation is only the first step towards liberation through affirmation. Through such

(1) See H. Nakamura: Parallel Development.

discipline, the Betrayed Revolution in the Third World can become a Permanent Revolution.







CHAPTER

II

Religious Dialogue



Hermeneutics as Axiomatics

An Islamic Case

Introduction.

Hermeneutics [1] does not mean only the "science of interpretation", that is, a theory of understanding, but Hermeneutics also means the science which describes the passage of revelation from the stage of words to the stage of the world. It is the science of the process of revelation from the letter to reality or from Logos to Praxis, and also the transformation of revelation from the Divine Mind to human life. The process of understanding is only the second of three. The first is historical criticism, which guarantees the authenticity of Scripture in history; no understanding is possible without the certitude that what will be understood is historically authentic. Otherwise, an understanding of an inauthentic text leads to error even if the understanding was accurate. After determining the historical authenticity of the Scripture and its degree of certitude - absolutely authentic, absolutely inauthentic or relatively authentic or inauthentic, the process of understanding begins on a solid basis. Here Hermeneutics becomes a science of interpretation in the rigorous sense, dealing essentially with the language and historical circumstances from which the scriptures originated. After knowing the exact meaning of the text

(*) International Congress of Learned Societies in the Field of Religion (The Society of Scientific Study of Religion) Los Angeles, 1-5 September, 1972.

(1) Although the word is in plural form it is used in singular which means "Science of Hermeneutics".

comes the third step, the process of realizing this meaning in human life, which is the final goal of the Divine Word. In phenomenological language we can say that Hermeneutics is the science which determines the relation between consciousness and its object, namely the scriptures. First we have "historical consciousness", which determines the authenticity of the text and its degree of certitude. Second, we have "eidetic consciousness", which defines the meaning of the text and makes it rational. Third, comes "practical consciousness", which takes the meaning as a theoretical base for action and leads revelation to its final goal in human life and the world as an ideal structure in which the world finds its perfection.

The Islamic case means that Biblical Hermeneutics will be exposed from an Islamic scheme. "Islamic" here does not necessarily mean religious, but it means the most rigorous form of rationalization and the highest degree of axiomatisation. The discussions regarding the validity of this proposed scheme are part of the "Dialectic of Hermeneutics". Hermeneutics as axiomatics begins after the acceptance of the schemes as postulates and axioms. The rational evidence is the last criterion.

Hermeneutics as axiomatics means the description of the hermeneutical process as a rational, formal, objective and universal science. The relation between Hermeneutics and Scriptures has to be similar to the relation between axiomatics and mathematics. Like axiomatics, Hermeneutics has to put in advance all its axioms and try to solve in advance all the hermeneutical problems without any reference to special ***data revelata***. Hermeneutics as axiomatics has to play the same roles as the theory of wholes and the theory of multiplicity in mathematics. It will he a kind of ***Mathesis Universalis*** regarding the Scriptures. The axiomatisation of Hermeneutics does not necessarily need a mathematical formulation like that in human sciences. It needs only to draw up all the problems posed by a holy scripture and to try to solve them in advance, ***in principia***, and lastly to put both problems and solutions in axiomatic form. If that happens,

there will then be no distinction between general Hermeneutics and special Hermeneutics. Special Hermeneutics, or ***Hermeneutica Sacra*** will be a special case of general Hermeneutics that derives its statues from general Hermeneutics. There is one process of consciousness and one formalization. ***Hermeneutica sacra*** presents a more extended case because it contains the three major problems: the historical, the eidetical and the practical, while literary criticism involves only the first two problems, the historical and the eidetical, and even the second only. The literary text is never applied to human life. Its authenticity is always granted, except in the case of old texts.

Hermeneutics as axiomatics traces out its way between two common extremes: the practical exegesis and the philosophical Hermeneutics. Practical exegesis is a pure philological analysis of the text very near to the ***philologia sacra***. It does not ask questions of principle. Many details on the text do not make it any more authentic, clear or practical. Hermeneutics as axiomatics eliminates the distinction between Hermeneutics and exegesis (one concerned with theory and the other with practice) on the grounds of being a purely didactic distinction. Hermeneutics as axiomatics is a theoretical as well as an applied science. It is a normative science, not a simple art which depends on the personal skill of the interpreter.

On the other hand, philosophical Hermeneutics is indeed the extension of human sciences on Hermeneutics as an independent science. The psychological, psychoanalytical, structural, sociological, anthropological or existential Hermeneutics are in fact the negation of Hermeneutics as a science having a foundation in and on itself. If the exegesis was an extrovert Hermeneutics, the philosophical Hermeneutics is an introvert one. It returns to subjectivity and absorbs the text into itself [1].

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(1) Reference are to Hermeneutics by Heidegger, Gadamer, Fuchs, Ebeling, Ricoeur and others. See:
- J.M. Robinson, B.B. Cobb (editors): The New Hermeneutic, N.Y. 1964.
- Exégèse et Herméneutique, Congres du A.C.F.E.B. 1969.
- R. Lapoine: Les trios dimensions de l'herméneutique, Paris, 1967.

If Hermeneutics as Axiomatics deals with revelation, what is the data revelata? Is it history, exceptional event, act, person, word ... etc? The object of revelation is not history because history does not need to be revealed. It is there as a permanent dwelling place for mankind. Revelation is not an exceptional event in history. All historical events are on the same level and of the same kind. Also, the acts of God or even His Person are not the object of revelation because they reveal to man something in divinity and not something in humanity. Revelation is not a tangible object, but it is rather acoustic, that is, words with sounds and meanings. Logos does not mean Event or ***Personna***, but only a Word, that is, language. Any personification or materialization of the Word in a visual object is due to the nature of society. In any persecuted community which lives its feelings in a very intense and dramatic way, the word is easily converted from the meaning to the thing or to the person. The materialization of the word or the personification of the meaning is an imaginative way to conserve its truth. The fear of loss leads to a strong desire to keep in a sensible way, to keep in hand and in front of the eye. If it happens that the new charismatic leader, a prophet, for example, is defeated, persecuted and martyrized, the community, by reaction and compensation personifies his message in him and immortalizes him not only as a martyr but as an idol. An excess of veneration of the leader leads to the same personification of the word and the deification of the person uttering the word. In a normal society, equilibrated in feelings, the word stays as a word, without any need of any kind of amplification.

I. The Historical.

The authenticity of scripture is not guaranteed by divine providence. Divine providence does not keep the authenticity of scripture in history. It has already been rejected by R. Simon in the seventeenth century. The authenticity of scripture is not an act of faith, but a result of historical criticism. Faith does not guarantee the historical authenticity of any document. It can even mislead. Fontenelle

makes the absence of faith a condition of an objective narrator. Finally, the authenticity of the scripture is not given by any religious authority or historical institution which decides, according to its beliefs and interests, which scripture is authentic and which is not. Because the work of historical criticism had not been done in the first centuries of the period of canonization, it has appeared in modem times and imposed itself on the tradition.

Historical criticism is completely independent of all kinds of theological, mystical, spiritual or even phenomenological criticism. Historical criticism is an objective science which has its own foundation. Every other criticism tries to alternate the radical, the objective and independent criticism which reached its peak in the nineteenth century and was pioneered by German Protestants. In opposition, the enumerated pseudo-criticisms based on faith, on dogma, on philosophy of germinal development, on the idea of the testimony of the spirit or on the concept of living tradition are, in fact, anti-critical. They destroy the results of objective and independent criticism, in order to preserve the traditional concepts on the unity, integrity, and inspiration of scripture. All of them are new justifications of the old traditions by the deformation of the new science.

There are two kinds of words:

1. The words uttered by the Prophet dictated to him by God via the holy Spirit and dictated by the Prophet to the scribes immediately at the time of uttering are conserved by writing till today. These words constitute the revelation ***in verbatim***. They do not pass through a period of oral transmission, but are written at the same time as when they were uttered. No scripture in the Biblical tradition fulfill this condition except the Qur'an. The Old Testament passed through centuries of oral transmission. The New Testament passed through a century of oral transmission. Only the Qur'an was written at the time of utterance. In the case of written transmission, these texts contain literally the same words uttered by the Prophet.

The passage from the oral transmission to the written must be done according to the rules of oral transmission. The texts have to be known. They have to be identical. Their narrators have to be contemporaries to the events reported and completely neutral in their narration. Taking Graf-Welhausen as a model, the G,E,D,P, sources are not known. They do not fulfill the conditions of the written transmission. The sources behind these sources are more obscure the fragments from tribal and local songs, (song of Lamech), sites of Moab (song of the well, song of Heshbon and Sihon), the curses and the blessings, (of Noah, Melchizedek, Rebekah, Jacob, Esan, Joseph ...), the Oracles (of Rebekah, Moses), the national songs ...etc. The same thing can be said regarding the written sources behind the historical books [1]. The New Testament does not differ much. The written sources are not known critically. That is, their authors, their language, their number, their transmission from hand to hand, their integrity ...etc [2].

The function of the prophet is in the first level of Words. No other person besides the prophet, a diviner, a scribe, or an augurer has the same role. This function is not that of telling the future but of communicating God's Words ***in verbatim***. He is a means of pure communication without any interference from his part, whether in language or ideas. The terms and the meanings are divine. God's words and human words are synonymous. It is not a matter of dogma but a result of historical criticism. A revelation is ***in verbatim*** if it does not pass through a period of oral transmission, and if the prophet is a simple means of communication. Otherwise, revelation is no more ***in verbatim*** because of the loss of words even if the meanings are kept and because of the interference of the prophets, the scribes, the narrators or mass imagination. The affirmation of a revelation of this kind ***in verbatim*** is a confusion between what ought to be and what exists. It exposes a wish, not reality. Since a revelation

(1) The court history of David, The acts of Solomon, The Royal history of Judah, The Royal history of Israel ...etc.

(2) For example: Proto-Marc, Mt Greek, Mt Aramean, Logia, Sayings and Acts of the Lord ...etc.

is ***in verbatim*** the text must be written in the same language of its original utterance. The books of the Old Testament are conserved in Hebrew except for some verses in Aramaic and Chaldean. The case becomes more serious in the New Testament. Jesus never spoke in Greek or Latin. We have to look for the Aramaic New Testament. The interpretation has to begin from the original language and the application of grammatical rules of this language.

There is no need of distinction between revelation and inspiration. Revelation is given to the prophet ***in verbatim***. The part regarding prophecy is in the theory of prophecy, not in Hermeneutics. Hermeneutics begins after the prophet has spoken and historical criticism guarantees the authenticity of the words of God uttered by the prophet in history, transmitted from mouth to mouth in the case of oral transmission or from hand to hand in the case of written transmission. Hermeneutics does not deal with the nature of the relation between God and the prophet and how the prophet received the divine words, but it deals with these words uttered in history and communicated from man to man. It does not take the words in its vertical dimension but in its horizontal one.

The Holy Spirit does not guide history, but it communicates only the message from God to the prophet. It is the vision of humans to conserve the authenticity of this message in history. It does not come to a scribe or a visionary but only to the prophet. It does not inspire, but it dictates. Inspiration exists literally in philosophy, in poetry, and in art. But it is a pure human activity which has nothing to do with revelation in its strict sense. Whether the inspiration happens by illumination (Scheleiermacher) or by natural light (Wegescheider) it is a pure human creation.

If revelation fulfills its conditions of authenticity in history then it is infallible, while revelation lacking its conditions is fallible. It is not because of revelation as such but because of the lack of human conditions which guarantee its authenticity in history. The unity of scripture is affirmed when all the books contained in this scripture

are dictated to the prophet receiving a message from God via the holy spirit. The unity of the scriptures implies the unity of its source. It is a unity of content rather than a unity of sense. The unity of sense follows the unity of source. In the case of Biblical scripture, it is the diversity of the scriptures, not its unity, which is averred, because of the diversity of sources.

The integrity of the scripture is no less important than its unity. All that the prophet had uttered, whether from the first pattern or from the second, has to be conserved in writing. In the case of the Gospels, Jesus has said more than what has been conserved by writing. The teaching of three years surely makes more than the contents of the Gospels. All the words contained in the non-canonized Gospels and the so-called apocrypha have to be reconsidered in order to look for the integrity of revelation.

2. The second pattern of words are those of the prophet which are not dictated by God via the holy spirit but from the prophet himself, to explain an idea or to precise a modality of action. His explanation and precision are prototypes for every time and place. There is no possibility of error, because the prophet, in case of error, is directly connected to God. This second pattern may be words. Deeds, or consents, but never dreams, night visions, ecstatic states or a direct encounter with God. The prophetic words came from the life situation of the prophet.

Theoretically there is no opposition between the first and the second pattern of words; both are from God directly or indirectly. Any opposition is only apparent and can be resolved in the following manner:

a. The first pattern gives the general idea and the second describes an individual case. Although all humans participate in the same acts, every individual has his own ontological existence within the general status.

b. The first pattern gives a general meaning and the second offers a particular one. The opposition between the general and the particular is in the meaning.

c. The pattern may precede in time the second one. In this case, the second abrogates the first, marking a development in the practice of revelation according to the human capacity.

In the case of the Bible. these two patterns of Words are mixed together. In the Old Testament we do not know if the words by the prophets are the revelation ***in verbatim*** communicated from God to the prophet via the holy spirit or the prophet's own words expressing, the revelation of God which has never before been expressed except in the personal terms of the prophet or even of the scribe. In the gospel, we do not know if the words of Jesus are the revelation ***in verbatim***, given by God to the prophet précising or explaining a previous revelation which has never before been expressed. The mixture between the two patterns makes it difficult to know where the revelation is independent from time and place, represented by the words of the first pattern, and where it is the first application of the revelation, in history, guided and directed by the prophet. The oscillation between the universal and the particular is always present in the, Bible, in both Testaments.

The second pattern may pass through a period of oral transmissions. In this case, its historical authenticity has to be granted. As it is impossible to have an absolute authenticity for all words, we can determine degrees of authenticity. Every narrative has two parts: the chain of reporters and the report itself. Regarding the chain of reporters, there are four methods of oral transmission, of which only the first offers an absolute authenticity. These four are:

1. The multilateral transmission: the text has to be reported ***in verbatim*** by many reporters, contemporary to the event reported. The convergence of many reporters on an identical report is a proof of authenticity. In order to prevent all possibilities or error, the multilateral transmission has to fulfill four conditions:

a. The reporters have to be independent from each other, in order to eliminate all possibility of condescension. Taking the case of the Gospels, we know that the three reporters were not independent.

The theory of two sources, Logia and Marc, affirms the dependence of the Gospels on each other.

b. A sufficient number of reporters gives bigger chances for the report to be authentic. The multilaterality is not determined by a fixed number from three up, but it is determined by the certitude obtained from the report. In some reports the certitude does not occur without a greater number of reporters. The more reporters we have, the greater our certitude is. In the case of the Gospels, three or four is not a sufficient number because it does not give the certitude of the authenticity of Jesus words.

c. The degree of expansion of the report must be homogeneous in time. The propagations of a report from the first generation on till the generation of the written tradition, for example, the fourth, must be uniform through the four generations. A sudden expansion of a narrative in a generation betrays the intervention of human will in the invention of this new report or the intervention of human interest in the concentration on this particular narrative. The case of the fourth Gospel is evident. More was known at the end of the first century than was known in the first generation.

d. The content of the report must conform to the human experience and the sensory testimonies. Revelation has nothing extraordinary, supernatural or even miraculous. The felicity of man depends on the rational organization of daily life. All narratives about miracles are then excluded, not because miracles do not exist, but because they do not conform to the senses. Moreover, a miracle is a natural event the causes of which we ignore. Once the cause is known, the miracle is dissipated. The conformity with the senses does not mean the exactitude of the spatio-temporal details. That is the case in the fourth gospel. A reporter can begin from exact proper names and exact time and make a fancy narrative. A constant reminder from the reporter that he has seen, transcribed, and experienced what he is narrating may betray the opposite. A reporter who wants to convince insists that he is an eyewitness, while a reporter who was really an eye-witness never insists on his testimony.

Only the multilateral transmission which fulfills these four conditions is absolutely authentic. It presents the highest degree of historical certitude. It is apodictic in theory and in practice. Otherwise, if it loses one of these conditions, it becomes hypothetical in theory, and may stay apodictic in the practical life.

Regarding the second part of the narrative, the report is transmitted textually. without any diminution or augmentation. The relation between the meaning and the word is an absolute relation. This meaning is expressed by this word. Any other word would give a shadow of the meaning, but never the same one. A diminution or an augmentation in the text, even if they were not essential, may give the meaning a color which does not have, A multilateral transmissions regarding the chain and a textual report regarding the body of the narrative gives the highest degree of certitude. In the case of the Gospels, the words uttered by Jesus are transmitted by the meaning but they are not the same words. since there are textual differences between the narratives.

In the report, only the direct words of the narrative are to be retained. The narrative part which makes the indirect speech is not a part of the narrative. The words of the prophets are the only part of the direct speech to be retained. The words of the companion of the masses, and of all those who enter in dialogue with the prophet are to be eliminated. The unknown voices, whether they come from nature or from unseen persons, are also to be dropped. The words of the prophet in his childhood or after his death are also to be put aside, a child has not yet attained the age of reason and speaking after death is contrary to the habits and the current of vents.

The reporter is a neutral consciousness who does not interfere in his narrative by his own words, images, feelings, interests or interpretations. He is just a means, and a passive one who communicates the words from the prophet to the next generation, a tape recorder or a magnetic band. An act of narration occurs in three steps: hearing, memorizing, and reporting. A narrative is authentic if these three

steps are identical, the hearing is equal to memorizing and memorizing is equal to the reporting. The reporter must have a rational conscience, an equilibrium in feeling, and extreme honesty based on piety. A mystic cannot report because he will add from his heart. A passionate narrator is unable to report because of the loss of the sentimental equilibrium. In the case of the Bible, every narrator interferes by his ideas, schemes, feelings, images, and goals. Marc wanted to prove Christ was an Ebionite. Matthew wanted to prove the messianism and the ecclesiastism. John wanted to prove the miraculous type and the supernatural elements of the message. Every reporter lives his faith and interprets his report in his own way. This is the beginning of theology, tradition, and culture as it occurred especially from John.

After the first and second pattern of words the authoritative text comes to an end. The scriptures are conserved by its patterns, then tradition and the role of the community begin. The tradition of a community is a reflection of all the "Doctes" of the community on the scripture regarding new cases presented to them in their time. Scriptures give the status of the case-type and the consciousness of the community's reasoning on similar new cases. Tradition is then the consensus of the community. It is not an independent source, but a simple reflection on the scriptures and on the new realities. The consensus is guaranteed by the objectivity of truth and the universality of revelation beyond all human desires and personal interests. Every 'Docte' reasons in complete freedom, independence, and responsibility. The opposition of one consciousness makes the truth less objective and universal. The individual consciousness, in order to reason correctly, must know the intention of revelation. He must assume and express the needs of the community. He must be completely disinterested, having a pure motivation behind his reasoning. The succession of consensus in history permits the perpetual rationalization of new cases and a new interpretation of the scriptures according to the needs of every time.

In the case of the Bible, there is no distinction between scriptures and tradition. The Old Testament is a unified national history of the

Hebrews containing laws, prophecies, sacred writings, wisdom. etc. Supposing that the Old Testament represents the scriptures and the Talmud represents tradition, it is not a simple reflection on new cases based on the case-types, but rather a real addition and independent source. Also in the case of the New Testament. there is no distinction between scripture and tradition. The Gospels came out of tradition. They express the dogmas of the primitive community. Tradition in Roman Catholicism is a source besides scripture. It is not a simple reflection of scripture but creative of new dogmas. In this case tradition has to be measured by scripture. Tradition in conformity with scripture is to be retained; Otherwise it has to be rejected. Karaites and Protestants have the right to reject the authority of the tradition and to keep scriptures only. The Karaites were under Islamic influence and the Protestants under Islamic exigency.

The words of the companions of the Prophet are not a part of scripture, but a part of tradition, which may be accepted or rejected according to their convergence with or divergence from scriptures. They are personal interpretations with the advantage over other personal interpretation that they are early interpretations, done by the companions who may be corrected by the Prophet himself in case of error. An early interpretation is always free from additions and amplifications of the posterior tradition. In the New Testament, the case is evident. The acts of the Apostles, written by Luke and the revelation of John are a part of the tradition. A ***fortiori*** the catholic Epistles, the words of the post-contemporaries of the Prophet or the disciple from the second hand, as Kiekegaard says, are not a part of scriptures. The fourteen letters of Paul are a part of tradition, not of scriptures.

The literary production of a certain time is not a part of scriptures accomplished by the death of the Prophet. It is a part of tradition. The early period of the fathers is not an authority by itself but confirms what was already involved in the scripture. The early time has only the advantage of being near the message, fresh and pure. Primitive Judaism, primitive Christianity, and primitive Islam

are nearer to the message than are the actual traditions. The "Return to sources" was always a movement of purification in the history of religion. Also, the authority of a tradition does not occur from a determined place, Jerusalem, Rome, or Mekka. Rome became the abode of the church because it was the capital of the Roman Empire. Jerusalem became central in Ancient Israel because it was in an intermediate place between Judea and Israel. The place in itself does not give any authority.

After consensus comes the individual effort of understanding. If collective consciousness avers difficult or impossible, individual consciousness is able to reason alone, to decide and to find a status for the new case. If the new case has the same foundation and ***raison d'être*** of the case type, then it takes the same status. The traditional analogy of faith is indeed a foundation for individual reasoning. Faith is rationalized, materialized. and concretized in events. Reason reviews all the causes of an event and tries to find the effective cause which is identical to the effective cause of the case-type, mentioned in scriptures, after isolating all other effective causes. In the Christian tradition, the real "majestère" is the purifier of tradition. The biblical critic, the heretic, the rationalist, the empiricist, the free thinker, the reformer, the modernist, or the revolutionary are real individual consciousness who affirmed the right of individual reasoning on tradition and even on unverified scriptures.

II. The Eidetical.

After determining the degree of historical authenticity of scriptures comes the second problem of interpretation. Historical criticism gives way to the process of understanding. Like historical criticism, interpretation is not a matter of a religious or institutional authority, church, synagogue, councils, sanheddrins ...etc, but only according to the grammatical rules historical situations from which the text originated.

All scriptures have to be understood by the same rules. There is no specificity of books, prophecy, Hagiographic, apocalyptic ...etc.

There are no dogmas which determine the meaning in advance, or would begin with presuppositions. Nothing precedes the grammatical rules. No faith precedes the linguistic analysis of the texts and the research for meanings. The interpreter begins with a ***tabula rasa*** except for his linguistic analysis.

Surely there was development in revelation from the O.T. to the N,T., but it is not a dogmatic one from the promise to the fulfillment, form the prophetical to the apostolic because these typological interpretations are done according to dogma or to human pride. It is easy to stereotype all the events of the past and to project on them the meanings of the present. Bergson calls it "***le mouvement rétrograde du vrai***" or "***le mirage du présent au passe***". We have many examples from this typology in the usages of the gospel's authors and especially of Paul.

Each phrase of revelation has to be understood as a whole, not independent of the other phrases. It has to be understood in its unity, in its integrity, and in its essence, Law in the O.T. and Love in the N.T. If we want to take the development of revelation into consideration, the last phase is more perfect than the earlier. Humanity has progressed and bias arrived at greater perfection. Revelation follows this progressive perfection and pushes it forward. The last phase assumes the earlier and accomplishes it. Love is the accomplishment of law and law is perfected in love. Islamic revelation announces and establishes it in human nature, declaring the autonomy of the human consciousness and the independence of human reason and will. What God in revelation wanted to say is now an object of human knowledge and a motivation for human action. Islamic revelation announces the advent of the age of reason, of science, and of freedom.

Every scripture has to be interpreted in its original language. That is why scriptures has to be written in its original languages. The linguistic analysis of scriptures is not good in itself, but a simple mean leading to the meaning. For instance, phonology belongs to the language as such to control the reading of the text but it is still below

the meaning, while morphology, lexicology, and syntax introduce us directly into the Problem of meaning.

Morphology can describe the form of words, the verb, the noun and the article. It can give us the significance of tenses of the verbs regarding time, the meaning of deferent forms of nouns regarding things and persons referred to, and the shade of meaning given by the different usage of article. The use of verbal nouns may indicate realities in action, in transformation as a process, not as fixed facts.

Every word has three meaning. First, the etymological sense, which indicate the sensitive origin of meaning in earth. This meaning guarantees the reality of revelation and prevents it from all metaphysical, theoretical and formal interpretations. Second, the usual sense binds revelation with the usage of the word in a special community, in time and space. The usual sense adjusts revelation to a particular situation. Third, the new sense which revelation gives and which is not contained in either the etymological or in the usual sense. It is the ***raison d'être*** of revelation. It gives the new direction for human action and a new push for human progress. It has nothing supernatural, anti-rational or mysterious, but it is rational, natural and evident. Revelation gave it to free humans from any extra effort in reaching theory and to make them concentrate on practice. A given idea from God has more chance to be impartial, neutral, universal, and objective in opposition to human ideologies, which may be partial, particular, and subjective.

After morphology and lexicology comes syntax, which is the real key to interpretation. The grammar of interpretation is composed of certain amphibological principles. The most important are:

a. The proper and the figurative sense. This duality of terms indicates the aesthetical dimension of language as a mean of communication. Revelation is given for all humans regardless of their education and their different abilities of understanding. That is why revelation did not use a formal language or express ideas in

formulas, but used the images as a vehicle of expression. The important matter is not the different kinds of figures of speech: short, including the comparison, simile or metaphor, association, (metamony synecdoche) ...etc or the opaque including: riddle, parable or enigmas or extended, indenting similitude, allegory ...etc, but just the distinction between the proper and the figurative senses. The proper sense corresponds to the literal sense well known in the classic interpretation. The figurative includes all kinds of metaphors and also the three other senses in the well known theory of fourfold senses of the scriptures, (literal, allegorical, tropological or moral, anagogical). Only two things are to be excluded: the mythological sense which describes the images as myths, riddles, fables, or enigmas, and the material sense, which presupposes material facts below the images. The filial and paternal language in the gospels is neither a myth, the myth of trinity, nor a material fact, incarnation, but an image which illustrates for the aesthetic conscience of the masses or of the elite a meaning. Eschatology is neither myth nor reality; Both are extremes, the first is a rational and a human reaction to the other, but it is a simple image which convinces the consciousness of another possible world of absolute and universal value; nothing is lost, everything will be recuperated. Interpretation of the images is not done by pushing them outside the world, making from it simple mythology, nor degrading it in the material world, making from it realities but to human experience to find its effects in human conduct as motivation. The figurative sense means the presence of meaning everywhere. We are living in a world of meaning, once, materialized in a thing and once generalized in an artistic idea. Meanings are realities. Circulating between realities means circulating in meanings, life and tree, force and torrent, light and hope, sky and glory ...etc.

b. The univoc and the equivoc: This double-key term indicates the dimension of the place. An Univoc term is a term with one meaning while an equivoc term is a term with two meanings. The first is clear; the second is obscure. The interpreter has to choose the place designed by the equivoc text.

c. The vague and the precise: This double-term indicates the dimension of theory and practice. The vague is a text which contains many possibilities of action. The precise is a text which designs only possibilities. This means that theory is wide enough for all possible actions according to any circumstances.

d. The visible and the invisible: The visible sense is also a clear sense obtained from the first contact with the text without an extra effort of understanding. The invisible sense needs more effort and more direction to the depth even if the interpreter goes beyond the term or if he uses the term to design another meaning not apparently designed. This process of going to the invisible has nothing mysterious or esoteric, but it is controlled by certain sings from language, from the concrete world or from the mind. This double key gives the dimension of depth, because of other differences between humans in understanding the text to satisfy all of them by giving them different depths of meaning.

e. The general and the particular: This double-term designs the dimension of individuals. The text contains a general description of any human and leaves the determination of the individual for the interpreter. The individual is the content of the text.

f. The negative and positive imperative: This twin-term designs the dimension of human action. Human action is the focus of the text and its final goal. The negative imperative is an appeal for inaction. The abstention from action is a negative act. A negative act destroys the being and makes man lose his energy, his power and his existence. On the contrary, a positive act is a real act which occurs in the world. It expresses the expansion of man in the world.

2. Besides these linguistic principles we have historical situations. There are two kinds of situations. The first is a situation-type which is a mere occasion for revealing. If revelation is ***in verbatim***, written in the same time as it is utered, situations in this case are situation-occasions, that is, simple ***substratum*** for revelation. Revelation is not given without an appeal from reality. Situation-occasions are these

appeals. The second is a historical situation from which the text has originated. This occurs when revelation is not ***in verbatim*** or when there is no revelation but a simple inspiration from a scribe or a simple report from a narrator. The situation here is the source of the text, not a simple occasion. That is why historical criticism insists on knowing the historical situation in order to fix the origin and the genesis of the text.

In the case of the Bible, the situation is not a simple occasion but a historical source for the text. Regarding the Gospels, the meaning, the direction and the intention of the document have been imposed by the historical circumstances of the primitive community.

3. After knowing the grammatical meanings and the historical circumstances, meanings have to be generalized beyond the situation-occasions or the historical situations in order to generate other situations. The extension of the meaning makes revelation always new, fresh and modern. The discussion of Jesus with the rich man or the meaning of the eternal life is not a simple revelation in a historical situation but an independent meaning which can be extended in several other similar occasions and in every material situation. Jesus's expulsion of the sellers from the temple is not only a particular act in time and space but it indicates a general meaning regarding the profanation of the sacred. The curses of the prophets on the kings, the princes and the rabbis are not only historical situations (once for ever), but have universal meaning present in every similar situation. This is the role of the exposition after the exegesis. The exposition of the scripture entails taking the generalization to its farest extreme without falling into the esoteric divergences, because this generalization is still controlled by the grammatical rules.

III. The Pratical.

After the process of understanding comes the last problem of realization of the meaning in human life. The praxis is the accomplishment of Logos. There are no dogmas existing by themselves, but dogma, that

means an idea or a motivation, is for praxis. Dogma is a mere possibility for action. There is no theoretical truth in dogma which the human mind can obtain by a simple argument but its truth is its ability to be a motivation for action. A dogma exists when it is realized in the world as an ideal system through human action. The only demonstration of the veracity of dogma is a practical one as when a martyr dies for it. There is no theoretical demonstration of the existence of God, but a realization of God's words in the world. The Person of God has been put from the beginning between brackets. A positive theology does not mean the study of facts, institutions and orders, but the transformation of revelation from theory to practice. The positiveness of a revelation is not its foundation on material facts but its ability to be realized in the world. All kinds of theology, theoretical dogmatic, systematic, dialectic, pastoral ...etc, are leading a battle in the air because there is no truth independent of human practice.

Revelation, being a total expression of life, does not contain any duality of view regarding a religious and a secular life. Life is one. There is no distinction between clergymen and laymen, between the spiritual and the temporal. There is one revelation, one world, and one human being.

The realization of revelation in the world occurs through the realization of the divine precepts. This does not imply necessarily a simple obedience of man to the divine command, otherwise man will be reduced to a slave or to an automaton. But Divine Commands express the nature of man in its perfection. This nature by itself is tended between two poles, a positive, which affords a positive command, a do, and a negative, which affords a negative command, a not to do. In such situations, life requires a radical solution without compromises or medium solutions. The absolute must and the absolute must not are two categories of human nature. Fulfilling the Divine message is an absolute must. The faintness is an absolute must not. Between the two poles there is a possible must and a possible must not. These two categories are left for human will according to the individual capacity. They are optional. Those who realize the possible must or abstain

from the possible must not are those who are more committed to the cause and more conscious of their vocation. Lastly, there is a neutral level of behavior where things are outside any legislation. The nature of things is its own code. Existence is legality. On this level, man is completely free. He enjoys living between things and in nature, in the state of primitive innocence.

These commands are not absolute orders regardless of their con text and structure in human life. A command is a command because it defends human interests and prevents evil and damages. Every command is based on a causal reason. It does not express only the Divine Will but it has a positive foundation. It has to be applied not blindly, but after the fulfillment of certain conditions. The presence of causal reason that means the foundation and the absence of any kind of hindrance. A hindrance is what causes damages in human life. Although a command is a normative behavior it indeed recognizes all weaknesses of human existence. In such situations the normative behavior becomes a real and a practical one. The action of man is evaluated according to his intention. A good action without a good intention is not a moral action. A bad action based on good intention is a moral action. The unity between action and intention leaves no room for hypocrisy, flattery, or double-faces.

The individual intention is indeed a universal one. Universal intentions are those on which revelation is based: conservation of life, truth, reason, honor and the material ***substratum*** of human life. The vocation of man in life is to be the guarantor of these universal intentions. So, revelation becomes an deal structure of the world and the world finds its perfection in revelation. This unity is not given in advance but it is the final result of a long process in which man is the motor element. Man by his action can realize this unity between the real and the ideal and transform mere projected unity to a real unity. Unity is not a fact, a reality or an idea but a process brought about by the action of man. God comes in as an image of the possibility of man to realize the divine words on earth. The kingdom of Heaven is another image of the possibility of revelation to be an ideal structure of the world.

Eschatology is not a material world, existing in a place as an eternal dwelling place, but it expresses the dimension of the future and of the best possible world: hope rather than despair, justice rather than injustice, triumph rather than defeat. Eschatology is a pure human experience which accompanies the presence of unity till the end and indicates its continuity.

Man, engaged in this process, becomes immortal. Immortality of the soul is not the result of a dualist concept of man and cosmos, with man divided in two, body and soul, one perishable and the other immortal, one going to heaven and the other to earth. And in heaven there is a hierarchy of dwellers according to a hierarchy of purity or man. This is dualism, materialism and bourgeois Puritanism. Immortality is a natural result of the realization of man of his vocation on earth. A musician is immortal through his music in the word of sounds and in the ear of mankind. A painter or a sculptor is immortal in the world of colors and figures in the eye of mankind. A philosopher is immortal through his philosophy in the mind of mankind. Immortality is the work of man in the history of civilization.

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History and Verification

A Qur'anic View on the Scriptures

Many studies have been done on the relation between Islam and Judaism as well as between Islam and Christianity. Most of them are based or a historical assumption that Islam has its origin in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The historical method, with its greatness and weakness, has been pushed to the extreme in order to intercept influences, infiltrations and borrowings, to deny Islam its revelation and to empty its culture from any creativity. Other studies tend to compare the three belief-systems but they turn out to be apologetic. The apologetic method is also pushed to the extreme and becomes ethnocentrism, chauvinism, provincialism and fanaticism.

The present study tries to find another way between these two extremes: pseudo-scientism and pseudo-apologetism. The historical method is only used as far as it can substantiate the Qur'anic statements on the Scriptures in order to prove that these statements are not void of content. This is done in absolute objectivity, with absolute disinterestedness by an impartial observer. If Qur'anic hypothesizes are verified true only then a dialogue becomes possible because the Qur'an will be saying nothing unusual and will be making no gratuitous statements. The dialogue will be fruitful far from diplomatic speeches and drinking toasts expressing temporary and ephemeral feelings of fraternity.

The Qur'an presents Judaism and Christianity as a critical history of both and as a verification of controversial issues in the Scriptures. The Qur'an teaches also the lesson of two past steps of revelation on all levels: historical as well as legal, theoretical as well as practical. Three major topics appear(*):

I. Historical authenticity of the Scriptures, a critical proposition.

II. Understanding and interpretation of the Scriptures, a linguistic proposition.

III. Practice of the Scriptures and behavior of the community, a moral proposition.

I. Historical authenticity of the Scriptures.

The Qur'an is making a critical proposition which is admitted by all biblical critics. Catholics or protestants, conservatives or liberals, moderates or radicals that the Scriptures are not the words of God ***in verbatim*** which is the only standard of an authentic transmission of revelation in history. All biblical scholars, archeologists and historians, philologists and critics admit that there is no absolute certainty, that the Bible in our hands today, Hebrew or Aramaic, Greek or Latin, Syriac or Coptic Armenian or Ethiopian corresponds to the revelation uttered at the first time. Taking the Torah, to which the Qur'an is always referring as an example, an oral tradition through the ***Tannaim*** can never be the same during thirteen centuries in the case of Abraham, not to speak of Adam and Noah, or during the eight centuries in the case of Moses, five or four centuries in the case of David and Solomon, three or two centuries in the case of the prophets. An oral tradition by its nature is dynamic. According to Otto, it develops and amplifies from generation to generation through the popular imagination. Without vigorous methods of oral transmission as invented by the Muslim scholars to collect the

(*) This paper has been written for the "Journal of Oecumenical Studies" in 1974 at Temple University. It has been judged as too violent!

Hadith, the quality of the oral tradition is jeopardized. In regard to the quantity, the Talmud tells us that all the oral tradition which contains the revelation given by God to Moses on the Mount Sinai has not come to the Bible. A good portion has been left out and transmitted orally by the Rabbis till the fifth century A.D. in an independent tradition, many parts of it are similar to some Islamic views of Judaism. This similarity does not necessarily mean that the later tradition borrowed from the earlier but it means that both traditions may have sprung out of the same source. That means also that the Bible is a partial revelation. It does contain revelation but not all. It may he more and it may be less. Once the integrity of revelation is lost as a possibility, the actual written one becomes historically doubtful.

The case of the Gospel is the same, although much easier, because the period of the oral transmission does not go beyond one century or two at the most. According to the most recent theories in biblical criticism, the gospel is composed not only of two sources, Mark and the Logia, but of innumerable parts, all of them expressing the faith of the early Christian communities rather than the ***ipsissima verba*** of Jeuses Christ. The Scriptures becomes already a tradition worked by the primitive community expressing its experiences of fear and hope, failure and success, expectation and disappointment. The ***Ich-Wörte*** combined with narrations becomes the Gospels. The ***formgeschichte schule*** have successfully pointed that out. The unusual psychological condition of the narrator and of the writer, the crucifixion of the innocent and competition between disciples prevented them from being neutral and dispassionate. The psychological experience through which the early communities passed: disappointment in the ***parousia***, precaution struggle, the underground mission ...etc, has been projected in the scripture as it appeared in the Apocalypse. All this made the quality of the narration very doubtful. A theory of revelation which makes from the Person or the Event the ***data*** revealed is a justification of the loss of the ***ipsissima verba*** and a dogmatic camouflage to the failure of historical transmission. Regarding

the quantity, the Gospels contain only parts of the revelation, not all. Jesus Christ has surely spoken during the three years of his mission more than what the four Gospels offer and in certain cases less. The canonization has been done according to dogmatic criteria not according to historical methods of transmission. It has excluded all other gospels which have not professed clearly the divinity of Christ and were more or less ethical like those of Thomas, Barnaba, Peter, the Hebrew, the Egyptians, the Ebionites ...etc. The rights of such Gospels have been restored only in modern liberal Protestantism and the ethical interpretation of Christianity.

The Qur'an rejects the well-known theory of inspiration in the Bible, making a sharp distinction between inspiration and revelation. Inspiration is not from God but from the mind of the scribe or the holy writer like the case of poets, artists and mystics. All of them formulate their own experiences, individual and social, political and national in their own languages, from their own choices and their own educational and professional background. They are all active in creation and their literary works are theirs. Inspiration never stops. It continues for ever. Revelation is just the opposite. It is the words of God given to a prophet and only to him to utter and to communicate to others from generation to generation, without additions or omissions, without interpretations or even clarifications, written from the moment of utterance and transmitted through generations, according to written methods of transmission (who gave whom and what?).

Because biblical revelation is not ***in verbatim***, the scribe has been given "carte blanche" to write and to compose. Scriptures are not composed by one author but by many. They do not come from one source but from several. These varieties of sources explain the heterogeneity of the Scriptures. Some are related to the national history of the Hebrews, others offer prophecies. Some are particularistic, describing the social life of ethnic group, others are universalistic describing man as such in relation to God and society. Contradictions and anachronisms appeared and made the Scriptures a defective and

non-reliable book of history. Some of their assertions hurt rational evidence and come in contradiction with common sense and the natural course of events. Others commit blasphemy against God and make him an immortal God working against the moral law. God is characterized in obscene anthropomorphism. The prophets steal and kill, commit incest and adultery! Muslim scholars argued that had abrogation been admitted in the Judaic tradition the later text would have abrogated the earlier one.

Then, Qur'anic doubts about the authenticity of the Scriptures are understandable. Because the biblical revelation has not been kept ***in verbatim*** the possibility of error is tremendous, alteration, omission, addition, extrapolation, intrapolation, oblivion ...etc. These errors may be unintentional and may be also intentional. Without pushing hard towards a theory of conspiracy, some interest and pressure groups, and sectarian conflict of interests were behind these alterations by adding the favorable and omitting the disfavorable. The religious authority sometimes intervened in shaping the Law to defend itself against the revolt of the masses, against the curses of the prophets or against the law itself condemning her. The Torah admonishes and warns against all kinds of alteration in the Scriptures as if this alteration was a common practice (1).

Then, the Qur'anic accusation is not far away from truth. First, in some texts of the Scriptures the words bas been displaced from their right places by intentional mispronunciation in order to signify something else (2). Second, other texts have been altered substituting

(1) "Ye shall not add unto the Word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the Commandments of the Lord your God which I command you." Deut. 4: 2 "Add thou not unto his words lest he reprove thee and thou be found a liar." Prov. 30 : 6.

(2) "Of the Jews there are those who displace words from their places and say ... with a twist of their tongues and a slander to faith" 4:46 "They change the words from their times and places..." 5: 41 "They change the words from their right places and forget a good part of the message that was sent to them" 5:14 "There is among them a section who distort the book with their tongues, you would think it is a part of the book, but it is no part of the book and they say that is from God. It is they who tell a lie against God they know it." 3 : 79.

to them more lenient texts towards political or religious authority. Original texts have been changed, confused or clothed with others [1]. Third, other texts have been concealed and hidden away. They have been completely dropped whether for the absence of vigorous transmission or for keeping the ***status quo*** of the Theocracy. The Covenant itself has been concluded in order to declare in open the revelation of God not to hide it [2]. The Bible mentions a story of a hidden Torah then found by the priest and other stories about found rolls or registers [3]. The Bible mentions also a story of burning portions of the Scriptures and warns against stealing any [4]. Fourthly, other texts are absolutely invented by the creative mind of the narrator or of the scribe or by a deliberate invention from a connivance between religious and political authorities between Rabbis and Kings. Some laws had been invented by the priests to be imposed on the people, not out of piety and obedience but out of hypocrisy, even before God imposed them. This invention is labeled in the Qur'an as lie! Human passions and interest groups have been

(1) "... Seeing that a party of them heared the Word of God and perverted it knowingly after they understood it." 2:75 "But transgressor among them changed the Word from that which had been given them..." 7 : 162 "O people of the book! Why do ye clothe truth with falsehood and conceal the truth which ye have knowledge?" 3:71.

(2) "The people of the book know this as they know their own sons. But some of them conceal the truth which they themselves know." 2:146 "Those who conceal God's revelations in the book and purchase for them a miserable profit they swallow in themselves naught but fire." 2:174 "And remember God took a Covenant from the people of the book to make it known and clear to mankind and not to hide it. But they threw it away behind their backs and purchased with it some miserable gain! And vile was the bargain they made!" 3:187 "(O children of Israel) and cover not truth with falsehood nor conceal the truth when ye know." 2:42.

(3) "And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Stephen the scribe: I has found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord... Go ye inquire of the Lord for me and for the people and for all Judah concerning the words of this book is found, for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not heardkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us." 2 ki. 22 : 8. 13 The founded roll in Ez. 6 and the founded register of genealogy in Neh. 7 "When Jehudi had read three or four leaves, he cut it with the penknife and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire." Ir. 36.23.

(4) The warning against stealing in roll is in Zech. 5.

finally substituted to Divine Revelation![1] Classical Muslim scholars consider that the authentic copy of the Torah had been destroyed during the first destruction of the temple and was never restituted again. The bible admits the presence in theory of written original documents [2]. Books must have been coeval with the commencement of writing and the "Preacher" complained that in his day of making many books there was no end. Among those books mentioned in the Scriptures but which have not been preserved are: The Wars of the Band, Jasher or the Upright, Sameul on the Kingdom, Chronicles of David, Acts of Solomon, Solomon's natural history, History of the Kings, Samuel the Seer, Nathan the Seer, Shemaieh the Seer, God the Seer, Ahigah the Shilonite, Visions of Iddo, Jehu the son of Hanani, Sayings of the Seers and doubtless many others which were genuine and authentic works. The four documents proposed by Welhausen EYPD which were incorporated in the Torah, we know nothing about them concerning authorship, source, transmission or authenticity.

Because of these alterations in the Scriptures and the divergences in Revelation, which betray the passions, the interests and the psychosocial background of "the people of the book", the Word of God has been confused and intermingled with the word of man. From those divergences in the Scriptures sprang out divergences in doctrines and subsequently the split of the community to different schisms [3]. The Qur'an comes and ravel such divergences and verifies them [4].

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(1) "The woe to those who write the book with their own hands and they say this is from God, to transfix with it a miserable price. Woe to them for what their hands do write and for the gain they make thereby." 2:79 "All the food was lawful to the children of Israel except what Israel made unlawful for itself before the law (of Moses) was revealed. Say: bring ye the Law and study if it ye be men of truth" 3:94 "Or if he among the Jews men who will listen to any lie, will listen even to others who never so much as come to the ..." 5:41 "They invent a lie against God" 4:50.

(2) "All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern" I Ch. 28:19.

(3) "We certainly gave the book to Moses, but differences arose therein." 11:110 "Because God send down the hook in truth, but those who seek causes of dispute in the book are in a schisms until after there came to them clear evidence." 98: 4 -6.

(4) "O people of the book! There has come to you our apostle revealing to you much that ye used to hide in the book." 5:15. "Had it not been that a word had gone forth before from thy Lord." 11:110.

II. Understanding and Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Once the Scriptures become historically hypothetical, all subsequent interpretations become also conjectural. All of them have equal probability of right and wrong. Once conjecture intervenes, subjective interpretations prevail on objective analysis of texts. Wishful thought dominates the real content of text. And in no way, conjecture cannot be substituted to certainty [(1)].

Conjectures hit the heart of revelation, namely the articles of faith or Dogma. The most important case is the nature of Christ in the Trinitarian debate. The Qur'an made from the beginning a distinction between Jesus of Faith and Jesus of history. All Trinitarian doctrines about the person of Christ express Jesus of Faith not Jesus of history. All of them are pure conjectures. They express the cultural milieu of the time, the religious history and the mythical background of the neighboring areas, the personal intellectual education of the Fathers, Greek or Latin, most of them being gentiles, the allegory of emotional glorification of Christ inside the church. All of them have ***pro*** and ***con***. The ***pro*** in one doctrine is the ***con*** in another. A purely negative definition, although it may be the only way to define the Transcendent in Christology, is used to deny all conjectures. Apollinarius wanted, and with reason, the divinity of Christ to prevail on his humanity. Is not the Son of God closer to the Paternity rather than to the Filiality?[(2)] Others, perhaps with more reason, wanted the humanity of Christ to prevail on his divinity. Otherwise, God himself will be jeopardized [(3)]. The council of Nicea I declared the equality of the

(1) "And there are among them illiterates, who know not the book, but desire and do nothing but conjecture." 2:78. "and conjecture avails nothing against truth." 53:28.

(2) "In blasphemy indeed are those that say that God is Christ, the son of Mary, say: who then hath the least power against God if his will were to destroy Christ, the son of Mary, his mother, and all, every one that is on earth!" 5:17 "They do blaspheme who say: God is Christ, the son of Mary. But said Christ: O children of Israel! Worship God my Lord, who ever joins other gods with God, God will forbid him the Gardens and the fire will he his abode...." 5:72.

(3) "And they say: God hath begotten a son: Glory to Him; Nay, to Him belongs all that is in Heavens and on Earth. Every thing renders worship to Him." 2 : 116.

three persons as "One in three and three in One", a negative compromise between the two opposite doctrines and which says nothing positive and closer to tautology than to an informative statement [1]. The doctrine of the absolute humanity, of Christ, that of Arius, was rejected by political maneuver in Alexandria although left to the pure reason independent of interest-groups, it might have received the consent of the majority. Because the ancient monotheism founded by Noah and Abraham, proclaimed by Moses and defended by all the prophets, was in danger and even threatened by an everlasting manipulation and confusion the Qur'an tried to clarify such confusion, to clear the clouds around the Unity of God and to put an end to all these conjectures. The Qur'an rejected all these images of Jesus of Faith, and accepted only Jesus of history which is absolutely and completely human, although conceived by the Holy Spirit in the Virgin Mary, performed miracles as signs to Faith and went to Heaven. The absolute humanity Christ declared by Arius theology and till now appears to be a model of certainty midst mere conjectures [2]. Modern Theologies prevailing mystery on evidence, ambiguity on clarity, myth on reality tries to rescue whatever remains from the old

(1) "They do blaspheme who say: God is one of three in Trinity. For there is no God except One God." 5:73.

(2) "Christ, the son of Mary, was no more than an apostle. Many were the apostles that passed away before him. His mother was a woman of truth. They have both to eat their food ..." 5:74 "O people of the book! Commit no excuses in your religion, nor say of God ought but the truth. Christ-Jesus, the son of Mary, was an apostle of God and His Word which He bestowed on Mary and a Spirit proceeding from Him. So, believe in God and His apostle. Say not: Trinity. Desist, it will be better for you. For God is One God. Glory to him above having a son. To Him belong all things in Heaven and on Earth. And enough is God, as disposer of affairs. Christ not to serve and worship God, nor do the angles, those nearest (to God), those who disdain His worship and are arrogant. He will gather them all together unto Himself to (answer)" 4:171-7 "And behold! God will say: O Jesus, the son of Mary! Didst thou say unto men, worship and my mother as gods in derogation of God? He will say! Glory to thee! Never could I say what I had no right (to say), Had I said such a thing. Thou wouldst indeed have known it, Thou knoweth in full all what is hidden. Never said I to them ought except what Thou didst command me to say, to wit worship God, my Lord and your Lord, and I was a Witness over them whilst I dwelt amongst them. When Thou didst take me up Thou wast the watcher over them and Thou art a Witness to all things." 5 : 116-7.

conjectures which has been under heavy attacks is in modern times. Modern ethics see no objections in scarifying the moral law and human innocence freedom and responsibility also to save whatever can be saved in the fourth century continued in modern times in the anti-Trinitarian theology from the old conjectures in the name of new hermeneutics! Illusions, contradictions, "reifications" of dogma, nothingness and nihilism have been exalted as concrete expressions of human existence!

The Qur'an rejects also the crucifixion of Christ on the same basis. It is mere conjecture. No body is ever certain of his death. The narration of crucifixion and resurrection is artificially compiled according to modern critics. It seems that the Qur'an approves "Docetism", that crucifixion was not real but illusory [(1)]. Classical Muslim scholars argued against both Trinity and Crucifixion as irrational, cruel, impossible, inhuman and contradictory. They have also depicted the opposition between the synoptic tradition and the Gospel of John. The divinity of Christ is largely propagated. defended and argued in the fourth Gospel by John "The Theologian". According to modern criticism this Gospel is a mystic expression of late second century in Asia minor and formulates a late development in the formation of Christian dogma. responsible of the divinity of Christ is Paul by exaggeration in the expression of his fidelity to the new reilgion, by his violent antagonism to the old religion and his action with the new and by a compensation to his "Complex of inferiority" that he was not an apostle who saw Christ, heard him and lived with him like the other disciples, as it appears from his early letters (I. II Thess). Not only the process of progressive divinization of Christ can he traced from titles, to titles-dogma, to dogma-events in the

(1) "They have rejected Faith; that they uttered against Mary a grave false charge. That they said: We killed Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God, but they killed him not, nor crucified him. But so it was made to appear to them; and those who differs therein are full of doubts with no (certain) knowledge but only conjecture to follow; for of a surety, they killed him not. Nay. God raised him up unto himself... and there is more of the people of the book but must believe in him before his death and on the day of judgment He will be a witness against them." 4 :155-9.

common consciousness of the early communities but also the literal understanding of metaphors. Are not we all the sons of God? Is not God our father?

It seems till now that the Qur'an addresses most of its critique regarding misunderstanding of the Scriptures only to Christians. However Judaic Trinity is not exempt of criticism. The filial and paternal expressions are plenty in the Torah. The Qur'an mentions "Uzair" as considered divine by the Hebrew and view as "Son of God." Is he "Osiris", a leftover from the Egyptian religion? Is he "Ezra the scribe" who by virtue of respect and veneration, reached the degree of a divine man as it appears in the Midrash? Or is he the Rabbi who by virtue of his power in legislation and his function of communicating with God, may have seen as divine and sharing in the Divine Power? Is he the Hassid? [1]

III. The practice of the Scriptures and the behavior of the community:

The alteration of the Scriptures and the misunderstanding of dogma are less crucial than the alienation in practice. Most of the critical history of the Scriptures presented by the Qur'an is indeed a behavioral critique of the people of the book. The critical history of the Scriptures is not done ***per se*** but for the practical function of the Scriptures in the community. The large part of the Qur'anic criticism is addressed to the Jews as if the prophets of Israel were spelling out again their attacks against the people of Israel: Transgression of the Law, disobedience of Divine Commands, breaking the Covenant ...etc. Most of this criticism is largely addressed to the children of Israel, not to the followers of Christ.

(1) "The Jews will call Uzair a son of God and the Christians call Christ the son of God. That is a saying from their mouth... They took their priests and their anchorites to be their Lords in derogation of God and Christ the son of Mary. Yet, they were commanded to worship but One God. There is no God but He. Praise the Glory to Him from having the patterns they associate" 9:30-1.

A. Transgression of the Law.

The Jews have not obeyed the Law. They have transgressed it. If the Law has been given to them to subdue their will and to make them more obedient to God, the experience then has failed. The Qur'anic metaphors are fascinating: threw away the Law, turned their backs to the Law, a donkey carrying tomes of Law ...etc [1]. The same metaphors appear in the Bible: Transgression (152 times), rebellion (93 times) ...etc. The failure in applying the Law is a part of his alteration. The Word of God is real. Disobedience to the Law is an alteration of the Word because the Word has not been fulfilled. It became as a simple human word which may be void of content, as simple phrases without any efficiency in the world.

Although the Law has been revealed to subdue the will of Israel and to train it to the obedience of God, the continuous transgression or the Law made the experience an absolute failure. Their will was refractory to any Law. Even a formal obedience to a Law which does not generate piety or not based on piety is pure hypocrisy [2]. The breakthrough of Christ can be easily justified. Even the Sabbath, the sign of the Covenant, has been transgressed [3]. The dietary laws have been also disobeyed [4]. Usury, although prohibited, has been practiced.

(1) "The similitude of those who were charged with the Law but who subsequently failed in those, that of a donkey which carries huge tomes.. 62:5 "But the transgressors changed the Word from that which had been given them..." 2:59 "If only they had stood fast by the Law, the Gospel and all the revelation that was sent to them from their Lord they would enjoyed happiness..." 5:66 "Say: O people of the book! Ye have no ground to stand fast upon unless ye stand fast by the Law, the Gospel and all the revelation that hath come to you from your Lord." 5:68.

(2) "For the iniquity of the Jews we made unlawful for them certain (foods) good and wholesome which had been lawful for them. In that, they hindered many from God's way." 4:160.

(3) "And well ye know those amongst you who transgressed in the matter of the Sabbath ..." 2:65 "Behold! They transgressed in the matter of the Sabbath for in the day of their Sabbath their fish did come to them, openly holding up their heads, but on the day had no Sabbath they come not." 7: 163 "We commanded them: Transgress not in the matter of the Sabbath." 4 : 154.

(4) "Many of them dost thou see racing each other in sin and rancor and their eating things forbidden..." 5:62 "They are fond of listening to falsehood, of devouring any thing forbidden..." 5:42.

Avidity of money and avarice have been even projected on God, and God has been conceived as avaricious [1]. Not only negative commands have been disobeyed but also positive Commands, even the simplest like prayers and alms [2]. This Qur'anic criticism is very common in the Bible specially by the prophets [3].

B. Breaking the Covenant.

God spoke to every nation and sent to all nations messengers. Some of them have been mentioned in the Qur'an and some have not [4]. There is no special favor which God bestowed on the Hebrews by sending them prophets because God sent to every nation prophets to help them and to give them guidance [5]. The Covenant is partly this deposit of trust of prophethood God left to all nation to carry out, to preserve and to transmit. It is a gift for all nations including Israel, not to Israel excluding all other nations. Election is not favoritism. Election is not a privilege of a nation on another but a responsibility, which every man has assumed by his own free will to be the grant of this

(1) "That they took, though they were forbidden and they devoured men's substance wrongfully." 4:161 "The Jews say: God's hand is tied up. Be their hands tied up and they accursed for the (blasphemy) they utter. Nay, both his hands are widely outstretched. He giveth and spendeth as He pleaseth.." 5:64.

(2) "And be steadfast in prayer, practice regular charity and bow down your heads with those who bow down." 2:43 "Nay, seek (God's) help with patience, perseverance and prayer. It is hard, except to those who bring a lowly spirit." 2:45.

(3) "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this Law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the Lord thy God." Deut. 28:58 "This book of the Law shall not, depart out of the month; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein. For then thou shalt make the prosperous and then thou shalt have good success:" Jesh. 1:8.

(4) "And there never was a people without a Warner..." 32:24 "Of them there are some whose story we have related to thee, and some whose story we have not related to thee." 40:78 "Of some apostles we have already told thee the story; of others we have not." 4:164.

(5) "O Children of Israel! Call to mind the special (favour) which I bestowed upon you and that I preferred to all others (for my message)" 2:122 Remember Moses said to his people: O my people! Call in remembrance the favour of God unto you when he produced prophets among you, made you kings and gave you what He had not giveth to any other among the peoples" 5:20.

trust offered to him by God since creation. In that sense all prophets and messengers of God are elected as means of communication between God and the trust of mankind. The Covenant of prophethood is a Covenant of truth and wisdom, a covenant to declare, to show and to transmit from generation to generation (1). But the children of Israel threw the Covenant behind their backs. They have not believed the prophets. Even more, they accused some of them of being imposters and slew others (2).

The Covenant as described in the Qur'an is not a material one but moral, a Covenant of obedience, of piety and of good deeds. The Covenant stipulates for the adoration of One God, respecting one's parents and relatives, helping orphans and sharing one's wealth. The Covenant stipulates also for respect of life of people's rights for free dwelling, free speech and free worship. The Covenant stipulates finally for the defense of truth on Earth and for the fight with the prophets for the presence of the Word of God in the World (3).

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(1) "And commemorate our servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, possessors of power and vision. Verily, we did choose them for a special (purpose) proclaiming the message of hereafter. They were in our sight. Truly, of the company of the elect and the good" 38:45-7 "And remember we took from the prophet their Covenant or from thee: from Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, the son of Mary. We took from them a solemn Covenant that God may question the (custodians of) truth concerning the truth (they were charged with):" 33:7-8.

(2) "We gave Moses the book and followed him up with a succession of apostles: We gave Jesus, the son of Mary, clear signs and strengthened him with the holy spirit. It is that whenever there comes to you an apostle with what ye yourselves desire not, ye are puffed up with pride? Some ye called impostors and others: ye slain!" 2:87 "As to those who deny the signs of God and in defiance of right slay the prophets and slay those who teach just dealing with the mankind announce to them a grevious penalty." 3:21 "We took the Covenant of the children of Israel and send them apostles. Every time there came to them an apostle with what they themselves desired not some they called impostors and some they slain." 5:70 "They were covered with humiliation and misery. They drew on themselves the wrath of God. This because they went on rejecting the signs of God and slaying his messengers without just cause. This because they rebelled and went on transgressing." 2:61 "And remember, we gave Moses the Scriptures and the Criterion (between right and wrong): there was a chance for you to be guided aright." 2:53.

(3) "And remember we took a Covenant from the children of Israel worship not but God; treat with kindness your parents and kindred and orphans and those in need; speak fair=

If all these stipulation for the covenant are maintained from the human side God will maintain these stipulations from his side. Those are: land, posterity, triumph, wealth, happiness ...etc. The divine promise comes after the fulfillment of the stipulations from the human side and not before. There is no material output without moral input. The covenant is contractual and conditional; a two-way covenant, not a one-way. This covenant is offered for every man as well as for every nation. Whoever wants to fulfill the stipulations from his side God will fulfill his stipulations from his side. Virtue is a Law of history. People who disobey the moral law will disappear, others will stay (1).

= to the people, be steadfast in prayer and practice regular charity... And remember we took your Covenant shed no blood amongst you nor turn out your own people from your homes and this ye solemnly ratified, and to this ye can bear witness. After this, it is ye the same people who slay among yourselves and banish a party of you from their homes, assist (their enemies) against them in guilt and rancour. And if they come to you as captives, ye ransom them, thought it is not lawful for you to banish them. Then it is only a part of the book that ye believe in and to reject the rest?" 2:83-5 "God did a foretime take a Covenant from the children of Israel and we appointed twelve captains among them and God said: I am with you if ye establish regular prayers, practice regular charity, believe in my apostles, honor and assist them... But because of their breach of their Covenant, We cursed them and made their hearts grow hard...:" 5:13-4 "O my people! Enter the holy land which God hath assigned unto you, and turn not back ignominiously, for then will ye be overthrown to your own ruin. They said: O Moses! In this land are a people of exceeding strength. Never shall we enter it until they leave it. If they leave, then we shall enter. Among God fearing men were two on whom God had bestowed his grace. They said: Assault them at the gate, when once ye are in victory will be yours. But in God put your trust if ye have faith. They said: O Moses! while they remain there, never shall we he able to enter, to the end of time. Go thou and thy Lord, and fight ye two, while we sit here! He said: O my Lord I have power only on myself and my brother, so separate us from this rebellious people! God said: Therefore, will the Land be out of their reach for forty years. In distractions will they wander through the Land. But sorrow thou not over these rebellious people." 5:22-9 "Hast thou not turned the vision to the chiefs of the children of Israel after Moses? They said to a prophet among them: Appoint for us a King that we may fight in the cause of God. He said: It is not possible if ye were commanded to fight that ye will not fight? They said: How could we refuse to fight in the cause of God seeing that we were turned out of our homes and our families? But when they were commanded to fight, they turned back except a small band among them." 2:246.

(1) "O children of Israel! Call to mind the (special) favour which I bestowed upon you and fulfill your Covenant with me I fulfill my Covenant with you and fear none but me." 2:40.

But, Israel broke the Covenant by transgressing the moral law [1]. Israel wants to accumulate material rewards without passing the test. They want an unconditional Covenant, that God fulfills the stipulations from his side, that means the promises, without fulfilling their stipulations from her side This particularistic view of the Covenant prevails in the Torah, the Covenant of Noah, of Abrahim and of Moses. The Covenant has been concluded even with nature once the moral commitment is not required. The particularistic Covenant is described in a material way: blood of the Covenant, salt of the Covenant, book of the Covenant, tables of the Covenant, ark of the Covenant, prince of the Covenant, bond of the Covenant. It has been made and established as an everlasting Covenant [2]. A universalistic view of the Covenant appears directly as a hint in the Torah and becomes larger and clearer in the prophets. It describes the token of the Covenant and the words of the Covenant. It is not established forever but may be kept, entered in, remembered, beheld, not to be forgotten, to be stood by, to be respected, to be confirmed and to be mindful of. It is not actual but potential, not unconditional but conditional [3].

(1) "And remember we took your Covenant and we raised above you (the towering heights) of Mount (Sinai): Held firmly to what we have given you and bring to remembrance what is therein... But ye turned back thereafter..." 2:63 "It is not that every time they make a Covenant some party among them throws it aside? Nay, most of them are faithless." 2:100 "And for their Covenant we raised over them (the towering heights) of Mount (Sinai) and we said: Enter the gate with humility and we commanded them: Trangerss not in the matter of the Sabbath and we took from a solemn Covenant. In that they broke this Covenant..." 4:154-5.

(2) The Covenant has been mentioned in the Old Testament 255 times, the exhortation for keeping it 40 times, the breach 46, the ethical 7, the words 19, the establishment 44, the ark 39, the everlasting 24.

(3) "If ye will obey my voice indeed and keep my Covenant then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people." Ex. 19 :5 "And if ye shall despise my statutes or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments but that ye break my Covenant." Lev. 26:15 "If ye hearken to these judgments, and keep, and do them that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the Covenant and the mercy which he saw are unto thy fathers." Deut. 7:12, Deut. 17:2 "Wherefore the Lord said unto Solomon, for as much as this is done of thee, and thou hast not kept my Covenant and my statutes, which I have commanded thee and will give it to my servant." 1 Ki. 11:11 "If thy children will keep my Covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore." Ps. 132:12 "Thus saith the Lord: If my Covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinance of heaven and earth, then I will cast away the seed of Jacob." Jer. 33 : 25.

It is a Covenant of priesthood, of peace and a brotherly one. The Bible admits, like the Qur'an, hat this Covenant has been broken. Using Biblical language the Covenant has been transgressed, forsaken. Dealt falsely with, not stood fast with, made void, not performed and being worked against. The Curses of Covenant are as numerous and obvious as its blessings. ***Berith*** may have come from ***bara*** which means cut. The ***Haggada*** treats the Covenant with Abraham in the same contractual sense [1]. Even the renewal of the Covenant by Jesus Christ, or a Covenant which is written in the heart by the holy spirit which is saved by a simple faith in the Person of Christ without works is not yet this universal, moral conditional and contractual Covenant which the Qur'an is asking for [2].

The Grace of God like his Covenant is absolute and universal. He is not exclusive to any group and cannot be monopolized by any community of faith even if God spoke to it. No particularism in the Covenant, no particularism in the Grace [3]. The people of the book have considered themselves the favorites of God, the friends of God, the beloved of God and the sons of God! Can they die and meet God presenting to Him the deeds they had? God has no beloved. He punishes and rewards every one individually according to his deeds.

(1) God showed him Gehenna and the domination of the nation on the one side, and the revelation of Mt. Sinai and the service in the Temple on the other, and said: If your children honor these last two (The Torah and Worship) they shall be spared the first two. If not, the Temple shall be destroyed and you now choose between suffering under the heathen and suffering in Gehenna as the punishment of your descendant. Jewish Encyc. Vol. 4 Ar. Covenant p. 321.

(2) "From those too who call themselves Csristians, we did take a Covenant but they forgot a good part of the message that was sent to them; so we estranged them with enmity and hatred between the one and the others." 5:15.

(3) "That the people of the book may know that they have no power whatever over the Grace of God, that this Grace is entirely in his hands to bestow it on whomsoever he will." 57:79 "Hast thou not turned thy vision to those who claim sanctity for themselves. Nay, but God doth sanctity whom he pleaseth but never will they fail to receive justice in the least little thing." 4:49 "Say: O ye that stand on Judaism, if ye think that ye are friend to God to the exclusion of men then express your desire for death if ye are truthful. But never thou express their desire because of the (deeds) their hands have sent before them". 62:6-7.

Even the so called the beloved of God will be punished. Not only will they be punished for a few days in fire but they may be pushed for ever in the eternal fire if they deserve it [1]. Paradise is not exclusive for them but for everyone according to his good deeds [2].

C. Ungratefulness to the Grace.

The children of Israel were not grateful to God for all that God did to them. They have not recognized the favors God bestowed on them, neither they believed in his signs nor in Him [3]. God saved them from extermination when the Pharaoh ordered the killing of their males. God saved them also when the Pharaoh followed them to the sea and God drowned Pharaoh and his soldiers [4]. How many times they sinned and God forgave them? How many times have they asked God not for wisdom but for material things, food and special kinds of food, and God gave them! But still, they never believed in Him or

(1) "(Both) the Jews and the Christians say: We are sons of God and his beloved say: Why then doth he punish you for your sins? Nay, ye are but men, of the men he rath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaseth and he punishes whom he pleaseth..." 5:18 "And they say: The Fire shall not Touch us but for a few unnumbered days. Say: Have ye taken a promise from God for he never breaks this promise. Or is it that ye say of God what ye do not know?" 2 :80 "This because they say: The fire shall not touch us but for a few numbered days, for their forgiveness deceive them as to their own religion." 3:33.

(2) "Say: If the last home with God, fore you specially, and not for anyone else then seek ye for death if we are sincere. But they will never seek for death on account of the (sins) which their hands have sent on before them..." 2:94 "And they say: None shall enter Paradise unless be he a Jew or Christian. Those are their (vain) desires. Say: Produce your proof if ye are truthful, Nay, whenever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good, he will get his reward." 2: 111.

(3) "O children of Israel! Call to mind the (special) favour which I bestowed upon you" 2:40 "Ask the children of Israel how many clear (signs) we have sent to them but if any one offers God's favour has come to him substitutes (something else) God is strict in punishment." 2: 211.

(4) "And remember we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh. They set you hard talks and punishments, slaughtered your sons and let your women-folk live. Therein was a tremendous trial from your lord." 2:49, 14:6 "And remember, we divided the sea for you and saved you and drowned Pharaoh's people within your very sight." 2: 50.

obeyed Him [1]. Once the prophet leaves them alone for a while or he dies, they return to their original material attitude by worshipping the golden calf as if they need always to be supervised by a high authority and concrete power [2]. Their material consciousness asked more for a concrete book coming from Heaven as if the Torah was not a sufficient evidence! They have even asked for God in person as if all the efforts of the prophets ahead of time were vain [3].

D. Obscene materialism and empty spiritualism.

Since believing in one God did not produce a pure consciousness capable of transcending the material world, the Qur'an describe the Jewish heart as cruel, empty of transcendence and subsequently empty from the moral law. Their heart is harder than a rock, from a rock water may come out but their heart is wrapped. Its tissue is made from matter [4].

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(1) "And remember we said: Enter this town and eat of the plenty therein as ye wish, but enter the gate with humility, in posture and in words and we shall forgive you your faults and increase those who do good. But the transgressors changed the word from that which had been given them..." 2: 58-9 "And remember ye said: O Moses! We cannot endure one kind of food so beseach the Lord for us to produce for us of what the earth growth, its pot-herbs and cucumbers, its garlic, lentils and onions! He said: Will ye exchange the better for the worse... they rebelled and went on transgressing." 2: 61.

(2) And remember we appointed forty nights for Moses, and in his absence ye took the calf (for worship) and ye did grievous wrong. Even then we did forgive you. There was a chance for you to be grateful." 2:51-2 "And remember Moses said to his people: O my people we have indeed wronged ourselves by your worship of the calf..." 2:51 "There came to you Moses with clear (signs). Yet ye worshipped the calf after that, and ye did behave wrong fully." 2:92. The same story in a large narration is also in 20:85-8 "Yet they worshipped the calf even after clear signs had come to them. Even so we forgave them gave Moses manifest proofs of authority." 4:153.

(3) "The people of the book ask thee to cause a hook to descend to them from Heavens; indeed they asked Moses for an even greater (miracle) for they did: show us God in public but they were dazed for their presumption with thunder and lightening." 4:153 "And remember ye said: O Moses! We shall never believe in thee until we see God manifestly but ye were dazed with thunder and lightening even as ye looked on. We raised you up after death. Ye had the chance to be grateful. And we gave you the shade of clouds and sent down to you Manna and quails." 2:55-7.

(4) "Thenceforth were your hearts hardened. They became like a rock and even worse in hardness. For among rocks there art some from which rivers gush forth: others there are which split asunder send forth water; and other which sink for fear of God." 2:79. "They say: Our hearts are the wrappings. Nays God's curse on them for their blasphemy" 2:88 "But because of their breach of their Covenant, we cursed them and made their hearts grow hard." 5:14.

They conceived everything in a material way. They thought that castles and fortresses may protect them from the wrath of God [1]. Life seemed to them permanent and death not existing. Their greed prevented them from conceiving contingency in life. That is why they never believed in the after death. They never had an eschatology. They never conceived that they will return to God with their deeds. Reward and Punishment according to one's deeds has no meaning for them except reward for them and punishment for others in this life [2].

When Christ came and made his break through, a reaction to this materialism appeared in an opposite spiritualism in order to keep a good balance between law and love, wrath and mercy, punishment and forgiveness, revenge and pardon. Because the action was great the reaction became greater and the balance was lost. Spiritualism became monasticism and monasticism is an empty spiritualism. Excess prevailed on moderation [3].

E. Hypocrisy, ethnocentrism and dosed society:

Once the focus of reality is missed and consciousness oscillates between two extremes, hypocrisy may occur a common behavior. The

(1) "It is He who got the unbelievers among the people of the book from their homes at the first gathering. Little did ye think that they would get out. And they thought that their fortresses would defend them from God. But came to them from quarters from which they little expected and cast terror in their hearts so that they destroyed their dwellings by their own hands." 59 : 2.

(2) "Say: The death from which ye flee will truly overtake you..." 26:6 "Thou wilt indeed find them of all people most greedly of life, even more than the idolaters. Each one of them wishes he could be given a life of a thousand year. But the grant of such life will not save him from punishment." 2:95-5 Then guard yourselves against a day when one soul shall not avail another nor shall intercession be accepted for her, nor shall compensation be taken from her nor shall any one be helped." 2: 48.

(3) "O people of the book commit no excesses in you religion." 4:171 "Then, in their wake, we followed them up with our apostles. We sent after them Jesus, the son of Mary, and bestowed on him the Gospel: and we ordained in the hearts of those who followed him compassion and mercy. But monasticism which they invented for themselves we did not prescribe for them; only the seeking of good pleasure of God. But they did not foster as they should have done" 57:27 "Say: O people of the book! Exceed not in your religion the bounds trespassing beyond the truth, nor follow the vain desires of people who went wrong in times gone by who mislead many and strayed from the even way." 5:77-8.

consciousness is material in reality and spiritual in appearance. The double-level behavior is the origin of all ethics of ambiguity. Values lose their objective, independent and unique world [1]. Hypocrisy may become not only an individual behavior but also a social pattern. The people of the book order others to obey the Divine Command and they disobey! They order others and forget themselves. To begin with, Jesus Christ addressed the same criticism in the example of the storh in the eye of one's brother [2].

The Qur'an describes the people of the book as ethnocentric. They mock other revelations and other prophets except theirs. They discredit every other cult except their own, although all revelations are from God, all prophets are sent from God and all our prayers are for God [3]. They want also to uproot all other believers out of their faith and make them Jews or Christians. A community of faith other than theirs has no "***raison d'être***". Any other community than theirs can be cheated, humiliated, enslaved and even annihilated. That is why a dialogue with them is impossible. ***A fortiori***, they will never believe in Islam or become Muslims [4]. They live together, marry each

(1) Behold! when they meet the men of faith they say: We believe. But when they meet each other in private they say: shall you tell them what God hath revealed to you, that they may engage you in argument about it before your Lord, do ye not understand. Know they not that God knoweth what they conceal and what they reveal?" 2:76-7 "A section of the people of the book say: Believe in the morning what is revealed to the believers, but rejected if at the end of the day; per chance they may turn back." 3:72 "When they come to thee say: We believe but in fact they enter with a mind against faith, and they go out with the same. But God knoweth fully all that they hide." 5:64.

(2) "Do ye enjoy right conduct on the people and forget yourselves, and yet ye study the Scripture? Will ye not understand?" 2:44.

(3) "O ye who believe! Take not for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery or sport, whether among those who received the Scripture before you or among those who reject faith, but tear ye God if ye have faith. When ye proclaim your call to prayer they take it as mockery and sport, that is because they are people without understanding. Say: O people of the book! Do ye disapprove of us for no other than that we believe in God and the revelation that hath come to us and that which came before and that most of you are rebellious and disobedient?" 5:59-60.

(4) "Quite a number of the people of the book wish they could turn you back to infidelity after you have believed from selfish envy after the truth hath become manifest unto them..." 2:109 "Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou=

other and live in absolute narcissism, which is the proto-type of a closed society. Their relationship with other communities of faith is based on envy and hatred. They may come and help the unbelievers against those who believe in the same God [1]. Selfishness and arrogance! Even between themselves they are separated to small groups, every one hates the other and considers it its enemy. Instead of doing good on earth they make mischief [2]. Although Jews and Christians may appear one front facing the Muslims, indeed they are enemies to each other. Jews antagonize Christians, Christians antagonize Jews. The Qur'an judges that both are wrong in antagonizing each other. Only Muslims accept both traditions because both as well as Islam come from God [3]. The Qur'an offers a minimum of agreement between

= follow their form of religion." 2:120 "It is the wish of a section of the people of the book to lead you astray but they shall lead astray but themselves and they do not perceive." 3:69 "Say: O people of the book! Why obstruct ye those who believe from the path of God seeking it crooked while ye were yourselves witnesses.." 3:99 "O ye who believe if ye listen to a function among the people they will render you apostates after ye have believe." 3:100 "Even if thou went to bring the people of the book all the signs (together) they would not follow thy Qibla, nor art thou going to follow their Qibla, nor indeed will they follow each other's Qibla..." 25145 "(they say) and believe no one unless he follows your religion. Say: The guidance is the guidance of God." 3;73.

(1) "Hast thou not turned thy vision to those who were given a portion of the book? They believe in sorcery and evil and say to the unbelievers that they are better guided in the way than the believers! They are whom God hath cursed and those whom God hath cursed thou wilt find have no one to help. Have they a share in dominion of power? Behold, they give out a far thing to their fellow-men. Or do they envy mankind for what God hath given them of his Bounty? But we had already given the people of Abraham the book of wisdom and confessed upon them a great kingdom." 4:51-4 "it is never the wish of those without faith among the people of the book nor of the people of the book nor of the pagans that anything good should come down to you from your Lord. But God will choose from his special Mercy who He will, for God is Lord of Grace abonding." 25105.

(2) "Among them we have placed enmity and hatred till the day of Judgment. Every time they kindle the fire of war God does distinguish it. But they strive to do mischief on Earth. And God loveth not those who do mischief." 5:64 "And we gave clear warnings to the children of Israel in the book that twice would they do mischief on the earth and will be elated with mighty arrogance." 17:3.

(3) "The Jews say: The Christian have naught (to stand) upon; and the Christians say: The Jews have naught (to stand) upon. Yet, they study the book. Like unto their Word is what those say who know not. But God will judge between them in their quarrel on the day of Judgment" 2:113.

the thee communities of faith: To worship one God, to be equal between one another and to be righteous [1]. Muslims broke through the barriers of the closed society and can eat their food, live in their homes and marry their daughters. Only then a unity of thought, a unity of action and a unity of life occur [2]. If the closed society does not open, the Qur'an asks the three communities of faith to come together and direct their faces towards God and implore Curses from Him to be sent on the liars [3].

IV. The Remnant:

Extracted from the whole judgment of the people of the book the good Jews and the good Christians, those who believe in one God and in his signs, prostrate in front of him, follow the message of all the prophets, believe in the last Judgment, have good deeds, order the good, and prohibit the evil. The Qur'an is describing this minority as the Remnant from the curses, from the wrath and from the revenge of God [4].

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(1) "Say: people of the book! Come to common terms as between you and us: That we worship none but God: That we associate no partners with him; that we erect not from among themselves lords and patrons other than God. If then they turn back say: Ye, bear witness that we are Muslims." 3:64 "Those who believe (in the Qur'an) and those who follow the Jewish (Scripture) and the Christians and the Sabeans, any who believe in God and the last day and work righteousness shall have their reward with their Lord. On them shall be no fear shall nor they grieve." 2:62, 5:72.

(2) "This day are things good and pure made lawful unto you. The food of the people of the book is lawful unto them. (Lawful unto you in marriage) are (not only) chaste women who are believers, but chast women among the people of the book revealed before your time when ye give them their due dowers and desire chasity not lewdness nor secret intrigues..." 5:5.

(3) "If any one disputes in this matter with thee, now after (full) knowledge hath come to thee say: Come! let us gather together our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves. Then let us earnestly pray and invoke the curse of God on those who lie." 3:61.

(4) "Not all of them are alike. Of the people of the book are a portion that stand (for the right). They rehearse the signs of God all night long and they prostrate themselves in adoration. They believe in God and the last day. They enjoy what is right and forbid what is wrong. And they hasten (in emulation) in (all) good works. They are in the ranks of the righteous. Of the good that they do, nothing will be rejected of them. For God knowledge well those that do right." 3:133-5 "And there are certainly, among the=

Those are the positive results of the experience of the past revelation and the endeavor of the prophets. Those are the exception of the Jews. Christians may be closer to Muslims than Jews. A doctrinal error may be less harmful than a premeditated antagonist behavior based on arrogance [1]. But indeed, the remnant do not belong to any determined community of faith but they are members of small groups who could extract themselves from the general disobedience of the people and could obey God, fulfill his promise and maintain the stipulations of the Covenant from their side. They indicate the presence of truth on Earth and even the courage to announce it in spite of risking their lives! They indicate also the presence of the individual dimension outside the categories of group, people, nation, tribe, class, family, sons ...etc. Finally, they show the presence of the natural light in man and the autonomy of his will. The human consciousness affirms its existence as awareness and shows the successful result of the long experience of revelation, which has one goal, the independence of the human consciousness, the autonomy of his Logos and of his Praxis. The remnant have saved themselves by

= people of the book those who believe in God in the revelation to you, and in the revelation to them, bowing in humility to God. They will not sell the signs of God for miserable gain! for them there is a reward with their Lord." 3:199 "But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge and the believers in what hath been revealed to thee and what was revealed before thee, and those who establish regular prayer and practice regular charity and believe in God and in the last day. To them shall we soon give a great reward." 4:162 "Among the people of the book are some who, if entrusted with a board of gold will pay it back. Others, who, if entrusted with a single silver coin will not repay it unless thou constantly stoodest demanding because they say: There is no call on us a with these ignorant (pagans), but they tell a lie against God and they know it." 3:75.

(1) "Strongest among men in enmity to the believers will thou find the Jews and Pagans. And nearest among them in love to the believers will thou find those who say: We are Christians because amongst these are mean devoted to learning and them who have renounced the world and they are not arrogant. And when they listen to the revelation received by the apostle, thou will see their eyes overflowing with tears for they recognize the truth; they pray: Our Lord! We believe, write us down among the witnesses. What cause can we have not to believe in God and the truth which has come it) us seeing that we long for our Lord to admit us to the company of the righteous. 82-6.

themselves [1]. Others would not be saved through them as it is sometimes the case in their description in the Bible. The remnant, referred to by the prophets, are not waiting for any material reward like the mob, but those who rely on God, the "meek" of the Land. According to the critical school, they are identical to the loyal Hassidim, always mentioned in the Psalm, the martyrs of the Maccabean revolt and the servants of God who remained true midst falsehood. The "letter to the Hebrews" describe them as not committing iniquity, as speaking only the truth, and as living in blissful pastoral peace and security [2]. Those remnant, according to the Qur'an, are the early Muslims before the coming of Islam.

V. Unity of Revelation and Unity of Mankind.

According to the Qur'an, Revelation is one, but sent on several intervals in proportion to the degree of progress of the consciousness of Mankind. Its purpose was to free this consciousness from all yokes material, social or political, in order to be able to conceive the transcendence and subsequently the realm of the moral law. Man will be then on the edge of two worlds: the Real and the Ideal. Revelation is fulfilled once the consciousness becomes autonomous, when Man becomes rational and free.

All steps of revelation are related to each other by confirmation and prediction. Every later step confirms the earlier. The Gospel confirms the Torah and the Qur'an confirms the Gospel and the

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(1) "Of the people of Moses there as a section who guide and do justice in the light of truth." 7:159 "Among God fearing men were two on whom God had bestowed his Grace.." 5:25 "... But when they were commanded to fight, they turned back except a small band among them..." 2:246 "O ye who believed be ye helpers of God. As said Jesus the son of Mary to the disciples: Who will be my helpers to God? Said the disciples: We are God's Helpers. Then a portion of the children of Israel believed and a portion disbelieved. But we gave power to those who belived against their enemies and they became the one that prevailed." 61:14.

(2) Is. 7:3. 10:20-i. Mic. 2:12. 5:6-7. Zeph. 2:3,7,9, Ier. 6:9, 23:3, 31:7, Ez. 9:8, 11:13, Hag. 1:12, 2:2.

Torah [1]. The Bible does not confirm anything because there is no revelation before. The famous statement of Jesus that he came to perfect the law not to abrogate it is clear. There is no disagreement between the three steps of revelation on the confirmation of the later to the earlier. But they differ in the prediction. According to the Qur'an, the Torah predicts the Gospel and the Gospel predicts the Qur'an. In fact, this prediction has been cut off from the Scripture. According to the Jews, the Bible does not announce any other prophet forthcoming in the person of Christ. Only a Christian reading of the Bible permits such a prediction by what biblical criticism calls the stereotype. The writers of the Gospel read the present events in the past and stereotyped them in the Scriptures. A new Christian hermeneutic of the Bible began, seeing in the Torah the seeds and the announcement of Trinity, Crucifixion and resurrection, a hermeneutic which the Jews reject and despise. According to the Christians, the Gospel and the Christian teaching of the Torah do not announce any other prophet forthcoming. Is not the covenant of God in the Person of Jesus Christ the final term in the divine manifestation? The Qur'an refers to these mutilations in the Scriptures and restitutes the prediction from the earlier to the later. According to the Qur'an, the Torah mentioned the Gospel and Jesus Christ, not by the projection of the present in the past retrogradely but by a clear and blunt prediction of the present to the future progressively. But the Jews cut it off and chopped it

(1) "And in their footsteps we sent Jesus the son of Mary confirming the Law that had come before him. And we sent the Gospel. Therein was the guidance and light and confirmation of the law that had come before him..." 5:48 "(I have cone to you) to attest the Law which was before me and to make lawful to you parts of what was forbidden to you..." 3:50 "And believe in what I reveal, confirming the revelation which is with you, and be not the first to reject faith therein nor sell my signs for a small price..." 2:41 "And when there came to them an apostle from God confirming what was there a party of the people of the book threw away the book of God behind their backs as if they did not know." 2:101 "Then came to you an apostle confirming what is with you. Do ye believe in him and render him help..." 3:81 "O ye people of the book believe in what we have revealed confirming what was with you,.." 4:47 "And when there comes to them a book from God, confirming what is with them ... when there comes to them that which they have recognized, they refuse to believe in it..." 2:89.

from their Scriptures. The Gospel Also mentions the Qur'an and his prophet not by a Muslim reading to the Gospel and the founding of Parasites mentioned according to some classical Muslim scholars but by a clear and direct reference of the name of the prophet, which will follow Jesus Christ! [1].

Therefore, confirmation and prediction explain the relation between the different steps of revelation. The Torah does not confirm anything before it and predicts the Gospel. The Gospel confirms the Torah and predicts the Qur'an. The Our'an confirms the Torah and the Gospel and predicts nothing after. Revelation is fulfilled and the autonomous of the Consciousness is affirmed. Accordingly. Only Islam is in a legitimate position for any interrelations dialogue. The Qur'an admits in principle the revelation of the Scriptures, the Torah and the Gospels. Jews deny the revelation of the Gospel and of the Qur'an [2], Christians deny the revelation of the Qur'an. Muslims can speak with Jews and Christians alike because they are the people of the book. But Jews and Christians cannot speak with Muslims because they (Jews and Christians) do not believe in the Our'an. Christians can speak with Jews because Christians admit the Torah but Jews cannot speak with Christians because they do not believe in the Gospel. Jews can never speak with any body either Christians or Muslims. Christian can speak with only Jews and not with Muslims. Only Muslims can speak with Jews and Christians because Muslims believe in all revelations as One. They can deal with the two other communities of faith open mindedly without rancor or animosity [3].

(1) "If thou went in doubt as to what we have revealed unto thee, then ask those who have been reading the books before thee." 10:94 "Those who follow the apostles, the unlettered prophet whom they find mentioned in their own (Scriptures) in the Law and in the Gospel." 7:157 "And remember Jesus, the son of Mary, said: O children of Israel! I am the apostle of God to you confirming the Law before me and giving glad tiding of an apostle to come after me whose name shall be Ahmed..." 61:6.

(2) "O people of the book! Now hath come unto you an apostle after the break in (the series of) our apostles lest ye should say: There came unto us no bringer of glad tidings.." 5:21 "But if they reject thee, so were rejected apostle before thee who came with clear signs, books of dark prophecies and the book of enlightement." 3:183.

(3) "And dispute ye not the people of the book except with means better unless it be with those=

The steps of revelation are related to each other only through confirmation and prediction but also through history and verification. Every later step verifies the earlier one and purifies its history. It draws the lesson, rectifies the situation and clarifies the confusion of the past. The Gospel is a verification of the history of the Torah and a final balance of the Jewish experience, successes and failures (1). The Qur'an is also a verification of the history of the Torah and of the Gospel together making also a final balance of both. Revelation renewed and purified itself in history. Because the Qur'an is historically authentic, having not passed through a period of oral transmission, as it is the case in the Bible, it can be used as a criterion of verification of the precedent steps of revelation. One of the synonyms of the Qur'an is "The Criterion" (al Furqan) (2). The Qur'an, by this virtue of historical authenticity and by the virtue of being the last step in revelation can settle all the disputes, historical, doctrinal or behavioral,

= of them who inflict wrong but say: We believe in the revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you.. And thus that we have sent down the book to thee... So the people of the book believe in them as also do some of thee... And thou wast not (able) to recite a book before nor art thou (able) to transcribe it with my right hand ..." 29:46-8.

(1) "When Jesus came with clear signs he said: Now have I come to you with wisdom and in order to make clear to you some of the (points) on which ye dispute, therefore fear God and obey me." 43:62.

(2) "It is He who sent down to thee (step by step) in truth, the book confirming what went before it. And he sent down the Law (of Moses) and the Gospel (of Jesus) before this as a guide to mankind and he sent down the Criterion (of Judgment between right and wrong) 3:2-3" To thee we sent the scriptures in truth confirming the Scripture that came before it and guarding it in safety. So judge between them by what God hath revealed and follow not their vain desire, diverging from the truth that hath come to thee... And this (He commands) judge there between them by what God hath revealed and follow not their vain desires..." 5:50-1 "O people of the book! There has come to you our apostle revealing to you much that ye used to hide in the book and passing over much..." 5:16 "And we sent down the book to thee for the express purpose that thou shouldst make clear to them those things in which they differ" 16:63 "Verily, this Qur'an doth explain to the children of Israel most of the matters in which they disagree." 27:76 "We certainly gave the book to Moses, but differences arose therein, had it not been that a Word had gone forth before from thy Lord the matter would have been decided between them; but they are in suspicious doubt concerning it" 11:110.

which occurred in the Bible. Islam will be the judge between all those who dispute in the case of revelation [1].

This verification of history does not imply necessarily that all Jews have to be Christians and that all Christians have to be Muslims. Every community of faith can live its own faith, apply its own law and practice its own scriptures, this diversity being a necessity according to different phases in the progress of Mankind [2]. This happens provided that Faith, Law and Scriptures are revealed from God, not invented, at least partially, by man. Islam is nothing more than this crystallization of faith and Law in believing in one God and having good deeds. In that sense, all prophets are Muslims and all revelations are Islam. The messages of all the prophets have been always the same: The Unity of God and its manifestation primarily in the moral law. This is Islam. Adam, Noah, Isaac, Jacob, Isaac, Ismail, David, Solomon, John the baptist and Jesus Christ, all are Muslims. Solomon invited the Queen of Sheba to Islam. Moses in his struggle against despotism and arrogance, Lot in his opposition to homosexuality, Shu'aib in his rejection of cheating... all were calling for the order of the moral law which is Islam [3].

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(1) "But why they come to thee for decisions when they have (their own) Law before them? Therein is the Command of God. Yet even after that, they would turn away, for they are people of faith." 5:45 "It was we revealed the Law. Therein was guidance and light by its standard have been judged the Jews, by the prophets who bowed (as in Islam) to God's will, by the Rabbis and the Doctors of Law; for to them was entrusted the protection of God's book and they were witness thereto ..." 5:46 "Let the people of the Gospel judge by what God hath revealed therein If and do fail to judge by what God bath revealed they are those who rebel." 5:49 "Hast thou not turned thy vision to those who have been given a portion of the book? They are invited to the book of God to settle their dispute but a party of them turn back and decline." 3:23 "As for those who divide their religion and break up into sects thou hast no part in them in the least..." 6:159.

(2) "To each among you have we prescribed a Law and an open way if God had so wiped he would have made you a single People but (his plan is) to test you in what he hath given you." 5-50 "If God have so willed succeeding generations would not have fought among each other clear (signs) had some to them, but they (chose) to wrangle some believing and others rejecting..." 2:253.

(3)"The religion before God is Islam. Nor did the people of the book dissent there from except through envy of each other after I have submitted my whole self to God and so have those who knowledge had come to them.. So if they dispute with thee say: follow=

Abraham was not a Jew or a Christian but a pure and a true Muslim [1]. He is labeled in the Qur'an as the first Muslim. He is a model of belief in Islam. He could arrive to God by his own reason, reflection in the stars, the moon and the sun, all contingents appearing and disappearing, small and big. Only God is The Necessary Being. He joined reason to experience and proved, after destroying the idols, that they cannot defend themselves. ***A fortiori*** they cannot hear or

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= me. And say to the people of the book and to those who are unlearned: Do you submit yourselves? If they do, they are in right guidance. But if they turn back; thy duty is to convey the message..." 3:19-20 "When Jesus found unbelief on their part he said: who will be my helper to God? said the disciples: We are God's helpers who believe in God and to thou bear witness that we are Muslims." 3:52 Say: We believe in God and in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes and in the (books) given to Moses, Jesus and the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one and another among them and to God do we bow our will (in Islam)." 3:84 "Do they seek for other than the religion of God? While all creatures in Heavens and on earth, have willing or unwilling bowed to his will (accepted Islam)..." 3:81-2 "When death appeared before Jacob before? Behold! He said to his sons: what will you worship after me? They said: We shall worship thy God and the God of thy fathers, of Abraham, Ismail, and Isaac, the One God, to him we bow in Islam." 2:133 "Say ye, we believe in God and the revelation given to us and to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes that given to Moses and Jesus and that given to (all) prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between one and another. And we bow to God (in Islam)." 2:136 "But, be ye not arrognat against me, but come to me in submission the true religion." 27,31 "And we have submitted to God (in Islam)." 27:42 "O ye who believed! Believe in God and his apostle and the scripture which he hath sent to his apostle and the scripture which he sent to those before (him). And those who devieth God, his angels, his books, his apostles and the day of Judgment hath gone far, far astray" 4.135 "God hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods. For their (in return) is the Garden (of Paradise) they fight in his cause and slay and are slain. A promise binding to Him in truth through the Law, the Gospel and the Our'an..." 9:111 "And this is the book of the earliest (revelation) the books of Abraham and Moses" 87:18-9.

(1)"Or, do ye say that Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say: Do ye know better than God?" 2:140 "Ye people of the book! Why dispute ye about Abraham when the Law and the Gospel were not revealed till after him? Have ye no understanding?... Abraham was not a Jew or not a Christian but he was true in faith and bowed his will to God's (which is Islam)...Without doubt, among men, the nearest of kin to Abraham are those who, follow him as are also people and those who believe..." 3:65-8 "They say: Become Jews or Christian if ye would be guided. Say thou: Nay, the religions of Abraham the true and he joined not Gods with God." 2:135.

see, they cannot harm or do good. He combined reason to heart asking for a proof to feel his knowledge is true that God has absolute Power on life and death and on the laws of Nature. Abraham is the founder of the natural religion, which is Islam. He also built the first house of worship on earth. He refused to make prophethood hereditary in his posterity as a vested right, prophet-hood being a gift of God given to whom God is pleaseth with. Abraham's argumentation with his father was kind and full of respect due to one's parents. Asking forgiveness for them Abraham fulfilled the Divine Will in him and became a model of obedience by accepting the sacrifice of his son, obedience which the children of Israel failed to do. Abraham is a whole, "Ummah", those who believe in One God and have good deeds. This is Islam in which Jews, Christians and Muslims can find common grounds [1].

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(1) "Abraham was indeed a model, devoutly obedient to God, true in faith and he joined not gods with God." 16:120 Say: God speaketh the truth: follow the religion of Abraham the true in faith. He was not of the pagans." 3:95 "We have taught thee the inspired (message): follow the ways of Abraham the true in faith and he joined not gods with God." 16:123 "And this was the legacy that Abraham let, his sons and so did Jacob. Oh my sons! God have chosen the faith for you; then, die not except in the faith of Islam." 2:132 "Say: Verily my Lord hath guided me to a way that is straight, religion of right, the path (told) by Abraham, the true in faith... This am I commanded and I am the first who bow to his will (Muslim)." 6:16-2 "It is the cult of your father Abraham. It is he who had named you Muslims." 22:78 "Oh Lord! make of us Muslims bowing to thy (will) and of our progeny a people of Muslims bowing in thy (will)." 2,128 "Behold His Lord said to him: Bow (they will to Me) He said: I bow (my will) to the Lord..." 2:131 "The first house (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka, full of blessing and of guidance... In it are signs manifest, the station of Abraham. whoever enters it attains security..." 3:94-6, The rest of Abraham story in: 6.74-83, 14:35141, 9:114, 19:41-50, 21:51-73, 26:69-104, 60:3-5, 37:83-111, 43:76-8, 37:101-11, 53:26, 11:74-6, 15:51-86.



Certainty and Conjecture

A Prototype of Islamic-Christian Relations

A prototype of relations between Islam and Christianity exists throughout history. It may be characterized as a relation of certanity to conjecture, of apodicity to hypothecity, of evidence to paradox or even of rationality to irrationality.

Following the course of history, three phases may be distinguished where this prototype of relations exists. The first is the Patristic Period, crystallized in its Christology and the appearance of Islam at the end, making a final balance, taking part in the controversy and distinguishing between certainty and conjecture. Undoubtedly, Islam was not yet a culture. Islam was only a Revelation preserved in a book, historically authentic, having not passed through a period of oral transmission in which the narrations may have been amplified by popular imagination, by neighboring cultures or by emotional projections. The ***raison d'être*** of this new Revelation was precisely the conjectures of the Patristics and the danger threatening the ancient Monotheism which Revelation from the beginning (since Noah, Abraham, and Moses) had struggled to preserve. That is why Revelation in Islam, before having been developed into a culture of its own, should be considered in connection with the previous cultures, namely the

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Judeo-Christian culture in the Patristic Period. History of religion and most Orientalists have treated this period historically to show how Islamic Revelation is derived from a "Judeo-Christian origin," misunderstood or apocryphal, and to make Islamic Revelation a historical amalgam.

The relationship between the Patristics and Islamic Revelation is not a historical one, not a relationship of cause and effect, but rather it is an ideational relationship. Islam uneviled certainty amidst conjecture. Here are some examples:

At the end of the Patristic Period, Islam appeared to dissipate certain confusions concerning the person of Christ and to put an end to the Trinitarian debate. It made a distinction between Jesus of faith and Jesus of history. All Trinitarian doctrines about the person of Christ express Jesus of faith and never Jesus of history. All of them are pure conjectures. They express the cultural milieu of the time, the religious history and the mythical background of the neighboring areas, the personal intellectual education of the fathers, Greek or Latin, most of them were Gentiles, the allegory of emotional glorification of Christ or the underground political stream of interest-groups inside the Church. All of them have ***pros*** and ***cons***. The ***pro*** in one doctrine is the ***con*** in the other. A purely negative-definition, although it may be the only way to define the transcendent in Christology, is used to deny all possibilities of understanding. Apollinarius wanted, and with reason, the divinity of Christ to prevail over his humanity. The Son of God is closer to paternity than to filliality. Arius, also with reason, wanted the humanity of Christ to prevail over his divinity. Otherwise, God himself would be put in jeopardy. The Council of Nicea I declared the equality of the three persons, and formulated "One in Three and Three in One", which is a negative compromise between the two opposite doctrines and which says nothing positive. The doctrine of the absolute humanity of Christ, that of Arius, was rejected by political maneuver in Alexandria, although, left to the pure reason, independent of group interest, it might have received

the consent of the majority. Because the ancient monotheism founded by Noah and the Patriarchs, proclaimed by Moses and defended by the Prophets was in danger, and even threatened by an everlasting manipulation and confusion, Islam came to clarify the confusion, to clear the clouds and to put an end to all of these conjectures. It classified all of these images as those of Jesus of faith, never those of Jesus of history. Jesus of history was purely and absolutely human. The absolute humanity of Christ declared by Arius in the fourth century and continued in modern times in a different form by the antitrinitarian theology and the unitarian epic since Servetus in the sixteenth century, Socinus in the seventeenth century, Priestley in the eighteenth and Channing in the twentieth, appears to be a model of certainty midst to all other doctrines as mere conjectures.

From the beginning of Christianity there was a confusion regarding the ***Data Revelata***. There was no clear idea about what Revelation is. Is Revelation the history of salvation, the work of the Holy Spirit, the Event of Incarnation, the Person of the Redeemer or the Logos? And what is Logos? The Person or the Word pronounced, beard and transmitted? Although in the Gospel the words of Jesus and his appeal for perfect behavior were put forward. John and Paul came and put the Person of Christ in front of his words, calling for the worship of Logos as not for applying the words of Christ in human life. Revelation became a vision or a dream, a telling of what will happen at the end of time and foreseeing the future of the world. A vision or a dream can occur to a disciple of the Prophet or even to anyone, continuously, until the end of time, not exclusively to the Prophet. Revelation became either the Person of the Prophet or a Dream of a Disciple and never the Word of God communicated to man via a Prophet who is a simple instrument of communication.

Islam came to clarify the confusion. Revelation is the word of God ***in verbatim***, communicated to man via the Prophet exclusively. The Prophet is a simple instrument of communication. The words of God have to be kept authentic in history, transmitted from generation

to generation in writing. Prophets, disciples, scribes, narrators, are all pure instruments of communication or transmission outside the corpus of Revelation. Later on, in modern times, when the depersonalization of Christianity occurred and the Word prevailed over the Person, when the Word became the only vehicle of idea and when the ideas became an ideology, an Islamic model of certainty appeared, after a long history of conjectures.

Even if the Words have been relatively well-kept from the beginning of Christianity, there was no distinction between Scripture and Tradition. The Scripture was a part of the Tradition and the Tradition was a continuation of the Scripture. Whether the Word was of Christ or an interpretation of a disciple or a formulation of an institution, all were sources of revelation, even if they were contradictory. For example, Christ praises the life in the Spirit, Paul glorifies the Person of Christ; Christ exhorts all to lead an ethical life, Paul and John formulate, dogma; Christ calls for love, Paul hates; Christ forgives, Paul anathematizes and damns; Christ perfects the law; Paul rejects the law; Christ humanizes, Paul and John cosmologize and divinize; Christ gives a lesson of humility, modesty and peace; Paul proud and self-affirmative, harasses and persecutes; Christ simplifies; Paul and John complicate. The disciple left the Master and the institution followed the disciple. The Scripture says what Christ said: the disciple and the institution create an independent tradition which was the immanent base of all the so-called heresies, schisms and protesting movements. Moreover, the canonization of the Scripture was done by a decision of the institution, the Church, opting for the Pauline and Johannic tradition, not by a scrupulous historical research on the ***Ipsissma Verba*** of Christ. The justifications given were: Development of the germ, explication of the implicit (Episcopate being a part of the Apostolate) living tradition, not the dead, testimony of the spirit, not letter. Revelation being the Person not the Word, Scripture being a part of the Tradition. The works of the holy spirit in history never stop! And even more, the holy sprit preserves the Inerrant Tradition!

Islam, then, appeared to rectify the image, making a ***retour aux sources***, to the Christianity of Christ, using Scripture as a criterion of the Tradition. Islam preconceived the ***Sola Scripture*** of Protestantism, the ethical Christianity of Harnack, the critical studies of Renan, the mythical interpretations of Strauss, Bauer and Feurbach.

Revelation occurred to liberate human conscience from all yokes, natural social, political or ideological (myth, magic, superstition...) in order to prepare man for the perfect life. Revelation also endowed him with a Law which expresses human nature in its perfection. Law in the beginning was educative. Submission to the Law was a goal, as such, to tame the conscience. Once Law became formal, void and hypocritical, then love, humility, purity, faithfulness, truthfulness and such moments of sincerity are also used as means of education to complete the Law and to give it a real content. Revelation also came to unveil in man what he feels, the sense of vocation, his commitment to accomplish his vocation on earth as vicegerent to God and the realization of His Purpose. The ancient intervention of God from Noah until Christ has been left to man to realize the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Therefore, Islam came and rejected monasticism and monastic life as pure innovation, never as divine imperative, as if Islam was referring to Saint Antonius, founder of monasticism in the fourth century. Celibacy also with a persuasion from Matthew stumbled on the figurative sense of the word "eunuch" (Mt. XIV, 12) after injecting the statement on celibacy, adding it to Marcus (Mk. X, 11) to institutionalize the Ecclesiat. Throughout history, this dissociation between the holy and profane, between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of earth resulted in Atheism, Secularism and the reaction of Death of God Theology. Photius, Luther and married priests left the Church, founding another.

Although the revolt against sin occurred in modern times, the dogma of original sin had already been formulated in the Patristics. Man is sinful in blood and flesh. He carries the sin of Adam from his birth, from generation to generation until the end of time. Man is

determined to sin; whatever good will he has, he is condemned to sin. Therefore, evil overwhelmed good. Evil is ontologically inherent in the tissue of the Universe. This is the condition of salvation. Man cannot save himself by himself. Because he cannot save himself from evil, he needs a Savior, the Christ Messiah. Man became passively cornered from the beginning to the end, encircled from right and left. Adam sinned for him and Christ saves him!

Islam appeared to return man to his innocence. Adam, because he is free, misbehaved. He repented and he has been forgiven. Every man is born innocent from any previous misbehavior done by others. Man is free. He is only responsible for his own deeds. Every man will account only for himself alone, not for his folks. Islam preconceived what the Enlightenment would express ten centuries later on.

From the beginning of Christianity, the necessary Divine Grace prevailed over human free will, if there was any. The appearance of Christ, the life of Christ, his birth, his deeds, his death, his resurrection, the life of the disciples and even the history of the Church, all of these are recipients of the Divine Grace. The Divine Grace is free, unconditional and massive. All efforts since Pelagius in the fourth century until Sartre in the twentieth to rectify the image and to make room for human free will apparently have failed to change the overwhelming Grace except by negation.

Islam appeared to make Grace conditioned by the free will of man, given to individuals rather than to a group or to nature. This grace is not external, but internal. The unexpected powers man feels in a situation of sacrifice are due to his sincerity and truthfulness, to the purity of his intentions, to the universalism of his goal and to the mobilization of his existing powers to the extreme. An external help given to man just because of his name, of his participation in an institution or his dogmatic belief, is a mere pretension. Grace, then, is conditioned by the good action of man.

The relationship between Islam and Christianity as a relationship of certainty to conjecture appeared also in a second stage, in the late

Middle Ages, Spätskalastik, where a real cultural interaction occurred. This time there was a diffusion from the young Islamic culture to the old Christian culture through translation from Arabic to Latin. This period has usually been analyzed and studied by medieval scholars and historians from the Christian side or apologists from the Muslim side. Neither historians nor apologetics will provide anything new. Only phenomenology of culture describes cultural phenomena as living experiences in subjective and intersubjective conscience, which is the cultural conscience.

In early scholasticism, from the seventh century until the tenth, medieval Europe was in a process of transmitting Christian-Roman culture to the North and the Christianization of the Germans as well as of the Anglo-Saxons. In the same period, Islamic culture, developed and reached its peak. Medieval Europe was ready to receive and Islamic culture was ready to give. In late scholasticism, from the eleventh century on, scholars have concentrated their efforts to show the impact of Islamic culture on medieval Europe. In this Civilizational period, the impact is historical, not ideational as it was in the Patristic period.

Iconography was one of the causes of several schisms that occurred in Christianity in the eleventh century. Icons, recognized and utilized by Catholics, rejected and abandoned by Protestants, raised the question as to whether the concrete has any role to play in the representation of the Absolute. Can icons reduce the distance between God and man in prayer or meditation? Can icons persuade for truth, suggest an idea, provoke a memory? Are not icons based on absurdity: the figuration of that which has no figure, the visualization of that which is not visual? There is a very fine line to draw between iconography and idolatry. Islamic culture provided medieval Christianity with another vision to solve the absurdity by making an absolute distinction between transcendence and figuration. God is transcendent and can never be figured.

Reason already began to prove its power in late scholasticorn. After the translation of Islamic philosophy from Arabic to Hebrew to

Latin, reason began to claim its rights on faith. Medieval philosophers began to learn the lesson given by Islamic philosophy: reason and faith are identical. The principles of reason are themselves the principles of faith. Dogmas are not mysteries which go beyond reason and which can only be believed through faith. Beranger of Tours, Nicolas of Amiens in the eleventh century, Abelard in the twelfth, Siger of Brabarant and Latin Averoists in the thirteenth, the humanists in the fourteenth century, Giordano Bruno in the sixteenth, all of them began to revolt against dogmas and mysteries as mere presuppositions, conjecture and even errors. The destiny of Christian disciples of Moslem philosophers was ahead of the Inquisition! Modern rationalists, Descartes and the Cartesians, continued the struggle already began. The famous Cogito is a new form of the "Flying Man" of Avicenna. The man, despite the severing of his members still exists as Awareness. If Descartes has extracted the Bible, the Church, the customs and the political regimes from his method, leaving them to his temporary ethics, Spinoza came and applied the method in every aspect of life. God as Person disappeared as conjecture, the Transcendence of God reappeared as certainty.

The translation of Islamic culture into Latin began with the translation of science even before the translation of philosophy. Al-Kindi was known first in Medieval Europe as a chemist before being known as a scientist. In Islamic culture, natural sciences such as chemistry, physics, astronomy or biological sciences such as botany, anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, pharmacology, medicine and even human sciences like psychology, psychophysics, physiognomy, geography, history and jurisprudence were experimental sciences based on observation and experimentation. Nature, although created by its events, occurs under the natural laws. Knowing these laws is a part of the Divine Knowledge. Spinoza later on, under the influence of Islamic mysticism, made from the natural laws Divine Attributes. The Transcendence of God is a prolegomenon to the determinism of Nature. The identity between Spirit and Natural, between the holy and the profane, made experimental science possible. The research

for the material and efficient cause is at the same time a research for the *raison d'être* of Revelation which gives the formal and the final cause. That is why Aristotelian logic had been refuted as formal, void and tautological. Roger Bacon in the fourteenth century and under the influence of Islamic scientific thought made from experience the foundation of science. Francis Bacon in the seventeenth century, accumulating all Islamic scientific thought with his own rational evidence and observation, systematized the experimental method in his Novum Organum, which became the point of departure for all modern sciences. Therefore, Alchemy became chemistry, astrology became astronomy, occult sciences became exact sciences.

In mathematics, medieval Europe stopped with Greek mathematics: The golden figure, the divine proportion, commentaries on the principles of Archimedes. In Archimedes, the addition was more of numerology than arithmetic. Mathematics flourished in a culture where reason dominates, or where a power of abstraction exists, such as Islamic culture. The science of algebra had been discovered by al-Khawarasmi, optics as mathematical physics by al-Haytham and arithmatic by al-Beyruni. All the treatises have been translated to Latin and became the new mathematics of the time. The Transcendence of God freed the human mind and gave man the dimension of the Infinite: Mysteries, magic, figures are limitations and induce conjectures. Transcendence, Infinity and abstraction are negations of all limits and induct certainty.

In medieval Europe, churches, were the centers of learning. The Fathers were teachers, the priests were philosophers, scientists, mathematicians and doctors. Dogma contained all human knowledge and the Church knew everything. Learning was a legacy, received and transmitted from generation to generation. The holy learning could never be put into question. After the contact with Islamic culture, other centers of learning were founded and universities began. A new spirit of learning emerged: Circles of discussions between equals, freedom of thought, absence of dogmatic presuppositions, argumentation and counter-argumentation, moral courage to protest

and to negate. Dialecticians stood against theologians. Open inquiry prevailed over dogmatism. Enlightenment had already begun.

Civilization before being a material production is a sense or a cultural dimension of the conscience. After several contacts between medieval Europe and the Islamic world, in peace time, through merchants wanderers and in war through the Crusaders, a sense of civilization was developed by the newcomers to the Islamic world. In urbanism, public paths were established with the canalization of smoke through the wind outside the town to prevent pollution, open courtyard inside the houses with water and greens and with windows towards the sun. Also, Arabic arches expressing the aesthetics of tree, forests, appeared. All these new styles were behind the late Roman and early Gothic architecture. New diagnostics, new medicines, new surgery and new methods for curing diseases have been borrowed from the so-called "Moors". The technology of irrigation, measurement, lighting, transportation, accounting, management ...etc. also contributed by Islamic culture have dominated until modern times. Kings and philosophers returned home full of memories from this civilization which they wanted once to destroy. When Charlemagne was receiving gifts from Haroun al-Rashid, when Richard the Lion-Hearted was cured by Salah al-Din, a new kind of human relations was discovered, based on courage, honesty, loyalty, truthfulness and humanism. Fredrich II corresponded with Ibn Sab'in and the Muslim philosopher answered, giving him a new view of the world, an absolute Monism adopted later on in a spiritual ontology of Meister Eckhart and in the absolute idealism and romanticism of Hegel, Shelley and all Romantic poets and philosophers.

In modern times, Islamic culture continued to be one of the sources of change, one of the models of thought and social structures after the rejection of the medieval pattern of thought and life. Some philosophers, poets, writers, and social critics were consciously aware of this model which Islamic culture presented. Spinoza wanted to restructure religious authority in Judaism and in Christianity according to the Islamic model, that is, without authority. Kant praised Averroes

for making the history of mankind a history of reason. Hegel admired Islamic Monotheism and found his inspiration in the Islamic mystic poets, Saidia and Hafez. Richard Simon, Welhausen, Renan and most of the biblical critics wondered how Muslim scholars could keep their Scripture historically authentic and adopted methods of oral transmission which critics of Hadith conceived to preserve the oral tradition from deviations, mistakes or addition. R. Simon learned Arabic for that purpose. Renan became an Orientalist and confesses in his preface to the "Life of Jesus" that he will apply in his history of Christianity the same methods that the Muslim biographers used in writing biographies of their Prophet. In more recent times, Bergson heard Iqbal on time and eternity and jumped from his chair, hallowing that he (Bergson) was hearing himself speak! Thomas Arnold, Bernard Shaw, Leopald Weiss, Pickthall, everyone who was touched by an aspect in Islamic culture, whispered "If this is Islam, we are all Muslims!".

However, beside this conscious relationship between modern authors and Islamic culture, there is another unconscious stream in which some Islamic models or motivations appeared, behind or underneath new systems in modem times. After the collapse of medieval patterns of thought, (based on looking for truth in an a priori source, following tradition, obeying authority, confining the limits of human reason and justifying dogma) which were under the constant strikes of the Renaissance and the Reformation, a new pattern appeared: rejection of all a priori sources of truth, criticizing tradition, revolting against authority, placing unlimited confidence in human reason, beginning by clear and distinct ideas, looking for rational or concrete evidence and rejecting personification in God or in Nature. Here, Islam appears as, motivations and intentions rather than results and conclusions. Until now, no scholar has tried to analyze the motivations of the Western culture in modern times as Islamic motivations.

The revolt against authority which characterizes modern times is a real human right. Man is free and responsible. He accomplishes

his duty according to his own conscience. Man has a vocation on Earth. No obedience to any external authority, no limitation on his freedom of thought. This was the deepest inspiration of Western culture in modern times since the Reformation: freedom of interpretation of scriptures as Luther wrote in Freedom of the Christian, and since the Renaissance as Pic de la Merandola wrote in his Oration on the Dignity of Man or Giordano Bruno in his heroic Flowers. The revolt against ecclesia, censorship, and tutorship had an Islamic motivation. Islam affirmed the freedom of man and his responsibility for truth without any obedience to any authority except his affliation to a universal principle. What Islam revealed as an a priori principle of human nature, the Western World struggled to obtain with heavy losses during the Inquisition.

The revolt against rituals or what Luther called "works of faith" was paralleled to the revolt against dogma and mysteries. Rituals are not identical to good deeds. Rituals may lead to hypocrisy in all of its forms: double standards, social pride, poor wits ...etc. Rituals also give a pseudo-salvation and induce the believers to illusion. From Descartes and the Cartesians through Kant and the Post-Kantians to Harnack, and liberal Protestantism, the good deed became the only manifestation of faith. Religion became very simple and clear: Belief in a Transcendent God and the accomplishment of good deeds. This is precisely an Islamic description of faith and action. What Islam declared as simple and clear has been obtained by modern philosophers after a long struggle and even without winning the battle conclusively.

After the collapse of the particularism of dogma and of rituals, a certain kind of universalism appeared in Western philosophy. God ceased to be a determined Person. God became absolute, infinite, eternal, omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. The Principles of philosophy of Descartes, the Short Treatise of Spinoza or the Metaphysical Discourse of Leibniz could have well been written by a M'utazilite. The idea of God also became a universal idea no longer determined by dogma or tradition. What religions, dogmas and sects had dispersed, philosophy unified. Descartes, Spinoza and Kant are neither Catholic,

nor Jews, nor Protestant. They could unify themselves under one principle. The "*Mathesis Universal*" of Leibniz could explain in universal terms the structure of the universe. His "Monadology" is pure description of the One and the Universe absolutely depersonified. Previously, Avicenna and Averroes had given the model.

Since the collapse of the medieval pattern and the discovery of the so-called systems of thought and of nature as illusions, the idea of progress appeared as the tissue of man and history. Newton conceived a new system of physics, Kepler a new system of astronomy, Lavoisier a new concept of chemistry. The progress of science appeared to be the new hope of modern man. Then the idea of progress became itself an object of a new science, philosophy of history. Instead of the medieval schism between the city of God and the city of earth, progress is shown as the internal logic in the development of the city of God itself as well as the development of humanity. Providence is itself the progress of mankind in history. Revelation is an educational process of humanity The accomplishment of that end means the independence of human conscience and the autonomy of reason and will. What Herder, Kant and Lessing declared as accomplished in the Enlilghtenment had already been accomplished eleven, centuries before. Vico and Condorect both declare the accomplishment of the ideal humanity once reason and freedom are realized. Auguste Come and Darwin found in science conformity with reality, the last stage in the development of humanity. Hegel declared the accomplishment of the absolute on earth. Man became perfect.

Although the revolt for social justice was a permanent denominator in human history since Spartacus and the revolt of slaves in the Roman empire, or Donatus and the revolt of colonized nations against the colonial powers, social revolts essentially characterize modern times. There had been Peasant uprisings since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, workers, popular and national movements in the eighteenth century; worker strikes and mass revolts in the nineteenth century and independent movements and liberation fronts in the twentieth century. New social ideals began to motivate the

European conscience, social justice, equality, a society without classes, work as a source of value, protest against monopolies and exploitation. All Utopias known in Western culture, from Thomas Moore to B. Shaw, express a desire which Islam expressed as a realizable ideology adopted by organized masses form community. All socialist aspirations in modern times reveal a real Islamic motivation, natural and human.

Since the collapse of all ***a priori*** sources of truth under the heavy attacks on the Church, the clergy, the priesthood and after submitting the scriptures themselves to historical criticism, tracing every verse back to its historical source in the ancient cultural environment, the discovery of truth was left only to pure human effort. Since the human view is always unilateral, partial, partisan and susceptible to error, all systems, disciplines and sciences which have been established to give the naked reality a theoretical foundation were incomplete. Rationalism affirms its own and exclusive rights on reality, criticizing senses and proving that sensual testimonies, may be illusions, criticizing experience and proving that experiences without rational and ***a priori*** foundations are incomprehensible. Therefore, rationalism ended in formalism, a unilateral aspect of rationalism. Then, experience reacted and affirmed its rights on reality as the only source of knowledge accusing reason of formalism, dogmatism, extremism and mechanism. Empiricism was also a unilateral reaction to formalism regarding the perception of reality. The European conscience was divided into two divergent trends, irreparably severed and disjointed. All efforts of synthesis between the two opposite trends failed. The critical philosophers have tried to juxtapose the two in a mechanical, stable and external way. Sensation, understanding and reason are three stages superimposed on each other, the first offers intuition, the second, categories and the third, ideas. Every stage deals with an independent world, the first with the external word, the second with the internal and the third with the superior. And even more, the system returned to the medieval pattern. "I had to destroy knowledge in order to make room for belief." Kant says.

This is a breakable synthesis which leads to positivism on one side and to mysticism on the other. Then absolute idealism came as a reaction to critical philosophy, offering a more dynamic synthesis where the abstract becomes identical to the concrete in a long dynamic and dialectical process, beginning with the ***hic et nunc*** which is the abstract to the concept which is the concrete. Principles of logic are themselves laws of history. This second effort of Hegel forgot the individual conscience as the core of this process. From this gap came all contemporary trends making the individual the center of the universe. This individual, until now, has never been focused: individual existence by Kierkegaard, conscience by Husserl, will to power by Nietzsche, time by Bergson, being by Marcel, ***dasein*** by Heidegger, body by Merleau-Ponty, existence by Jaspers, experience by James ...etc, all of them rejected previous efforts, formalism as well as empiricism, philosophy as well as science, failing down in an absolute individualism, emotionalism and voluntarism. Others, after long effort, became hopeless and preferred despair, and ended with skepticisms, agnosticism and nihilism. All of them wanted to shoot at the target but all missed the focus. A human view is always unilateral despite gestaltism, integralism and totalism. Only Islam can direct the conscience to keep the focus of things, the integrity of truth and to keep the balance between extremes. Islamic monotheism can guide the European conscience in its wilderness and aberration and guide it towards the focus of reality.





The Image of Abraham In The Qur'an & The Bible

I. Introduction.

Abraham is the founder of the three major monotheistic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Every one of those three religion claim that it has originated from Abraham. But the point is: How could Abraham have been the founder of Judaism and Islam, the two religions on which I am concentrating and where we have two different images of him, the Biblical and the Qur'anic? Abraham in the Bible is different from and even the opposite of Abraham in the Qur'an.

It is very difficult to know Abraham of history. The Qur'an speaks of 'Books of Abraham' 87:19 (***Suhuf Ibrahim***), but Biblical critics have not yet been able to find any text attributed to him. Many of Abrahams' Legends are found in 'the Book of Jubilees', which under the name of ***Kufale*** has been discovered in an Abyssinian dress and translated in Ewald's Jahrbücher II & III. According to Speyer, the "Books of Abraham" are indeed mentioned in the Book of Jubilees [(1)]. Another collection of these legends were made out of the Talmud by Beer in his "***Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der***

(1) Speyer, Heinrich, Die Biblischen Erälungen im Qoran (Hildesheim: Georgy Olms Verlagsbuchbandlurig, 1961), 2 Auf., p. 174-5.

Jüdischen Sage". The Qur'an has contributed largely to this legendary lore [(1)]. Other Muslim traditions exist in Weil's "The Bible, the Qur'an, and the Talmud". Another collection of legends: 'The Legends of the Jews' has been compiled by L. Ginzberg, Phila., 1913. We have also "Apocalypse of Abraham" and "Ma'ase Abraham" part of Sefer Massoth of Nissim Kairawan (11th century). Shapiro published an Arabic text by Qâb al-Ahbar and claimed to be the author of Ma'ase Abraham [(2)].

The Midrashim speaks also of Abraham in a different way from that of the Bible which proves that there was a historical tradition of Abraham. Every religion colored it by its own vision and recreated Abraham in its own image. However, the Qur'an as a historical document with a high degree of authenticity, by the fact that it has not been transmitted as oral tradition but was written from the beginning, can be considered as more close to Abraham of history.

Most of Abraham's biographies are driven from the Bible. Fewer are Written from the Jewish oral tradition contained in the Midrashim and the Talmud or outside it. Some of these few stories has some similarities to the Qur'anic narratives concerning Abraham. That does not mean necessarily that one tradition, the Qur'anic or the Mididrashim, has borrowed from the other. Most Biblical critics see the borrowing in one way: from the Jewish legends and Rabbinic literature to the Qur'an, through Arabia to Muhammad. Both the Qur'an and the Bible, plus the legends and the Rabbinic literature, go back to the same source in Revelation. The similarities can be explained not by borrowing but by the unity of the source.

Most of the story of Abraham in the Bible is concentrated in Genesis. The Covenant of Abraham is equated to Creation. From the 60 times Abraham was mentioned 58 are in Genesis. From the 172 times Abraham was mentioned 130 are in Genesis. Abraham is never mentioned outside Genesis except as Father of Isaae, Jacob, and

(1) Deane, Wiliam J., Abraham, His Life and Times (New York: Auson D.F. Randolf & Co., 1888, p. III.
(2) Al-Faruqi, Ismail Ragi, On Arabism (Amsterdam: Djamabatan, 1962), P- 26-7.

Joseph. He is mentioned outside the Pentateuch in relation to God, God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. Sometimes he is mentioned as a reminder to the Covenant, to the Blessings, to the Land, to the Inheritance, to the Seed, and to the Promise. The same usage continues in the New Testament.

Abraham in the Qur'an has been mentioned 69 times; 30 times in relation to his prophecy which is his ethical covenant and his spiritual heritage, 7 times concerning the house built to worship God, 12 times referring to the religion he founded, namely "Islam", 13 times on the rational aspect of his religion and the rejection of imitation. The rest, 7 times in relation to his father, to Lot and to his guests.

In the Bible, Abraham has two forms: 1- Abraham or "father of height", his original name. and 2- Abraham "father of a multitude", which is the name given when the promise of numerous progeny was renewed to him by Cod [1]. The change of the name is mentioned in the Bible when God appeared to Abraham at the age of 90, making with him the covenant "Neither shall thy name any more be called Abraham, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father or many nations have I made thee." (Gen. 17:5).

Biblical scholars make from Abraham the youngest son of Terah, born in 1996 B.C. and died at the age of 175 in 1821 B.C. He was a native of Ur of the Chaldees and descended through Heber in the 9th generation of Shem the oldest son of Noah. The Hebrews consider themselves the descendents of Abraham. Terah was seventy years old when he begot Abraham with two other sons Nahor and Haren (Gen. 11: 26-7). On the other hand the Qur'an did not mention the name of Abraham's father because it is irrelevant to the lesson it wanted to teach. The Qur'an omitted many data about Abraham in it narratives because it sought to keep an eye only on the lesson it wanted to teach.

(1) Young, Analytical Concordance To The Bible (Grand Rapids. Michel Erdmans, 1971), p.8-9., The etymological discussion is detailed in Montgomery, P. 167-7.

II. The Particular Covenant in the Bible.

In the Bible, the emigarion from Ur of Chaldees to Canaan began by Terah taking Abraham, Sarah and Lot with him. The relation of Abraham to his father is not determinist in relation to God. There is no spiritual reason for his departure. The Pentateuch gives no reason for this command [1]. In the Qur'an, Abraham and his family left the land of idol worshipers to a land where he could worship God. In the Bible, the real migration began when he was 75 years old by a divine order from God to Abraham not to worship God but to see the land God promised. God promised to make him also into a great nation and give him his blessings. God will bless those who bless him and curse those who curse him (Gen. 12.1-3). God appeared to him and promised him and his seed the Land. After leaving Egypt to the South passing by Canaan and the place where he built the Alter God appeared to him ordering him to separate from Lot and confirmed to him again his promise: the land eastwards, westwards, northwards and southwards. That means the four corners of the earth, a land which shall be given to Abraham and his seed forever. Abraham has to rise and walk in his Land in length and in width (Gen. 13:14-7). God also confirmed his promise of posterity. His seed will be like the dust of the earth in number. The posterity has been always mentioned in order to point out to whom the inheritance belong. Abraham dwelt ten years in the land (Gen. 16.3). According to Speyer, the Divine call to Abraham in the Qur'an follows the Book of Jubilees and the Mishna. The story of Abraham leaving his father is in the Book of Jubilees and the Apocalypse of Abraham [2].

When God appeared to Abraham in a vision, He reminded him of the promised Land for which Abraham left his Ur of Chaldees, a land to inherit. When Abraham asked for a sign by which he can Know for certain the inherited land God gave him the sign similar to

(1) Gaubert Henri, Abraham, Loved by God (New York: Hastings House, 1968), Trans. by Sheppard, Lancelot, p.30-1., Also al-Farqui. P.24.

(2) Speyer, P. 129, 143-6.

the four birds mentioned in the Qur'an: An heifer of three years, a she goat of three years, a ram of three years, a turtledove and a young pigeon, all this to be divided. Every piece has to be put against the other, with the birds not divided. 'The sign which God gave Abraham to prove His omnipotence is used in the Bible as a sign of the promised Land (Gen. 15: 7-10).

God again appeared to Abraham when he was 99 Years old and repeated for the last time and in detail the Covenant. The Covenant is concluded between God and Abraham and promised him a multitude of descendants. The change of the name from Abram to Abraham is done. There will be from this nation kings. The Covenant is extended to all the seed of Abraham forever. The promised Land appears as the content of the Covenant. The Land of Canaan will be given as an everlasting possession. The mark of the Covenant will be circumcision in order that the Covenant will be in Flesh. The uncircumcised will break the Covenant. Abraham was circumcised at the age of 99, Ismail, at 13 (Gen. 17:1-27), and Isaac at 8 days (Gen. 21:4).

God appeared to Abraham to promise him posterity. When Abraham said that the steward of his house is the only heir, God refused and wanted to give him a son of his blood. Abraham believed in universalism but God preferred particularism based on blood (Gen. 15:1-16). Goittein mentions the story of Elizer, Abraham's servant to prove the right of the servant among ancient Hebrew tribes dropping out the conclusion of the story: the inheritance to the heir in blood.

In the Bible, the sun is also mentioned in relation to Abraham. The sun went down, it got dark, and Abraham slept. God then informed him in this darkness and deep sleep that his seed will be strangers for four hundreds years, serving other people and that Abraham will die in old age. But the fourth generation will come back to the promised Land (Gen. 15:12-6). For the first time the Covenant with Abraham is mentioned "Unto thy seed have I given this Land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Eurphrates (Gen. 15:18). God's election to the Hebrews is absolute and irrevocable [1].

(1) Goitein, S.D., Jews and Arabs (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 28-9.

In both the Bible and the Qur'an, Lot is mentioned in relation to Abraham. In the Bible, Lot is the son of Haran, Abraham's brother, a Kinship which the Qur'an does not mention. Abraham went and liberated his nephew who was captured in Sodom, and brought both his gods and people (Gen. 14:12-24). The king of Sodom believed in the God of Abraham, the highest God, Master of heaven and earth. According to Geiger, the connection between Abraham and Lot is taken from the Midrash, because Muhammad made himself a new Abraham and wanted people to believe through him [1].

The ethical question appears in the Bible once when God decides to destroy Sodom. Abraham objects to God: How could God destroy the righteous with the wicked? God accepts the objection, changes His mind and spares all inhabitants of the city from destruction because of fifty righteous (Gen. 18 : 23-26). Eternal damnation for all or eternal salvation for all without any individual merit which is the Qur'anic criteria of right and wrong [2].

III. The Posterity of Abraham in the Bible.

Both the Qur'an and the Bible mention Abraham in his relation to his wives. The Qur'an mentions his first sterile wife without mentioning her name, Sarah but the Qur'an mention the second wife, Hager. The Bible mention both wives and adds a third wife to Abraham Keturah to whom Abraham was married when he was almost 130 years old. The Bible mentions that Sarah herself gave her maid Hagar to Abraham as a second wife. When Hagar was pregnant Sarah felt despised by her and treated Hagar badly. Hagar fled. The Angel appeared to her advising her to return to her mistress. Hagar gave birth to Ismail because God beard her affliction. Abraham was 86 years old (Gen. 16 : 1-16). Sarah died when he was 127 years old. Abraham bought a field in the land of Canaan and buried her (Gen. 23 : 1-19).

(1) Farqui, p. 22.
(2) Geiger, Abraham, Judaism and Islam (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970), p. 99-100.

From the third wife Keturah, Abraham had six children. But Abraham gave all his inheritance to Isaac. To his sons from the concubines he gave only gifts (Gen. 23:5-7). Abraham died when he was 175 years old. The Generations of Ismail are mentioned without relevance to the promise and the Covenant. He had only multitude (Gen. 25 : 13-17). He died at the age of 137.

The Bible mentions the sojourn of Abraham in Egypt in days of famine. Abraham agreed with Sarah that she has to declare that she is his sister not his wife. Abraham was afraid of being killed by the Egyptian pharaoh who desired his wife. When Sarah was brought in front of the pharaoh God plagued him and saved Abraham and his wife (Gen. 12 : 10-20). In all three journeys, the wealth of Abraham and his wife is described in cattle, gold, and silver. The Bible mentions also that Abraham always lied about Sarah making her his sister, not his wife. Because she was good looking, she was admired by the pharaoh and by the king Abimelech when she was over 90 years old. God tells the king that the woman was Abraham's wife and not his sister to protect her from adultery, Abraham was afraid to be killed. He was unwilling to protect his wife, Abraham used the term sister metaphorically for himself and literally for the king. Abraham appears as an unethical man.

The story of Abraham's guests is mentioned in the Bible. God appeared to him when he saw three men. Abraham brought them to his tent and treated them generously. They announced to him that his wife Sarah have a child (Gen. 18:1-16). The Qur'an mentions the story of Abraham's guests without giving their number. They were disguised angels (15 : 24-37, 15:51-77).

According to Geiger, Abraham's guests were Arabs in the Qur'an following a passage in the Talmud (Qiddushim, 52). In the Qur'an, the Angles ate and drank following another passage in the Talmud Baba Mezia. (86.2) (1). According to Speyer the same story exists in the Haggada (2).

(1) Ibid., P. 101-2.
(2) Speyer, p. 147-8.

The rivalry between Sarah and Hagar extended to Isaac and Ismail. Abraham was pleased by his new son and made for him a great feast the day Isaac was weaned. Ismail mocked. Sarah became angry and asked Abraham to avenge her by out-casting Hagar and her son. Abraham obeyed and God intervened rewarding Isaac by the call. Abraham sent Hagar and her son away with water and bread. Once the water was exhausted, the child was threatened by death. But God heard his mother's supplication and the water sprang promising Ismail that he will become the father of a nation. Ismail grew and dwelt in the wilderness. His mother fetched for him a wife from Egypt (Gen. 21:8-11). Abraham thereafter made a covenant with Abimelech and stayed with the Philistines many days.

At the time the name of Sa-rai is changed to Sarah and the multitude will come out of her not from Hagar. When Abraham asked God long life for Ismail God refused. God made the multitude from Sarah and the covenant will be established with Isaac because Abraham laughed when he heard that a one hundred years old man and a ninty years old woman will have a child. Ismail is blessed and he will be fruitful, the father of twelve princes.

According to Torrey, the story of Zemzem follows the ***Pirke Aboth***, considered as one of ten things created and called the mouth of well. Rabbi Eliezer brings the story of Ismail including the well springing under the hands of Hagar. Torrey sees that the Qur'an has forgot to borrow the rest of Ismail's story from Rabbinic literature. In the Jerusalem Targum, the Rirge Rabbi Eliezer makes Ismail with two wives Ayesba and Fatima [(1)]. But Torrey does not comment on the unjust sitiuation that the Jewish tradition had little interest in the story of the disinherited elder son of Abraham.

The sacrifice of Abraham is mentioned in the Bible as a temptation to Abraham to offer his son Isaac to God with burning in the Land of Moriah. Once Abraham was on the verge of executing it, an angel

(1) Torrey, Charles Cutler, The Jewish Foundation of bow (New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1967), P. 84.

from the Lord called and saved Isaac by substituting him with a ram. The lesson is a promise from God to Abraham to multiply (Gen. 22:18). The sacrifice is done in the Qur'an without mentioning the name of he person whether it Is Ismail or Isaac, (Qur'an 37 : 101-111). In the same narratives, the Qur'an mentions the announcement of Isaac's birth. By deduction, the first son was Ismail. In the Bible, Ismail from Hagar and the other six children from Keturah have no relevance to the Covenant or to the promise. Only Isaac is the heir.

According to Geiger, Ismail took the place of Isaac as the object of sacrifice by a deliberate forgery, because Ismail is the ancestor of the Arabs. Ismail is presented in the Qur'an as a righteous man contrary to the Jewish view. The Qur'an follows the Rabbis showing Ismail's repentance [1]. According to Speyer, Ismail is the object of sacrifice in the Book of Jubilees [2]. According to Torrey, Muhammad has substituted to the Jewish election an Arabic election by switching the emphasis from Isaac to Ismail. The great mission is taken away from the Jews and given to the Arabs. In another branch of the family of Abraham rest the final choice [3]. The whole religion of Ismail is conceived as a game passed from Abraham to Ismail to the Arabs [4]. Torrey projects the Jewish election on to Islam. He expresses clearly an ethnic motivation for this alteration, and for the reason of making Abraham and Ismail reside in Arabia and found the Kaaba [5]. The question of descendants of Abraham is so emphasized by Jewish scholars who are irritated by the fact that the Arabs are descendants of Ismail and Midian, or by the possibility as an English Arabist suggested, that Israel itself is an Arab tribe [6]. Goitein considers it a myth that the Arabs were Semites or that they are the cousins of the Jews. Ismail was a tribe which vanished from history. He considers

(1) Geiger, p. 102-7.
(2) Speyer, p. 166-7.
(3) Torrey, p. 59.
(4) Ibid., p. 70.
(5) Ibid., p. 82-3.
(6) Goitein, p. 5.

that Abraham being an Arab sheikh is a misconception [1]. According to Speyer, the story of Abraham as the builder of the Kaaba exists indeed in the Book of Jubilees [2]. To rationalize this substitution of election Snouckhurgronje proposed a theory of two Abrahams: a universal Abraham of the Makkan period, and an Arab Abraham of the Madinah period when the relation between Muslims and Jews soured [3].

In the Bible, Abraham implored the Canaanites to sell him a field to find a burying place for Sarah. But he called the eldest servant and ordered him not to let his son Isaac marry a foreigner, a Canaanite woman. Abraham had not reciprocated the Canaanites respect and love. He wanted to keep his pure blood by marrying his son from his own people. The servant executed the order of his master and fetched Rebeka the daughter of Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother. (Cen. 24).

IV. The Universal Covenant in the Qur'an.

In the Qur'an Abraham is a prophet. His legacy is prophecy, not a Land. This legacy is not material, hence cannot be inherited by his offsprings. Prophecy can be carried out by his offsprings if his sons are righteous. When Abraham pleaded "and also from my offspring", God answered "but my promise is not within the reach of evil-dores" (2:124). All the sons of Abraham have committed themselves to the worship of God of Abraham "were ye witness when death appeared before Jacob? Behold, he said to his sons: what will ye worship after me? They said: we shall worship thy God of the fathers, of Abraham, of Ismail and Isaac, the One God. To Him we bow (in Islam). (2 : 133).

According to Geiger the Qur'an made an error by making Ismail an ancestor of Jacob [4]. But Geiger himself ignores the Qur'anic view

(1) Ibid., p. 21-25.- Also Montgomery, P. 7.
(2) Speyer, p. 158-62.
(3) Moubarac, Y., Abraham dans le Qoran (Paris. Vrin, 1958), p. 53-6.
(4) Geiger, p. 107-110.

that the posterity is in prophecy not in blood, the moral posterity. Geiger sees as coming from Rabbinic literature. Therefore, the election of Abraham is not an arbitrary one. He was elected to be a prophet, to carry truth and to communicate it to further generations. The election is not for himself alone but for all prophets whom God have chosen for that mission (3:33). The inheritance of Abraham is that of prophecy, not a material one (2:132). Those who maintain that inheritance will be rewarded and those who betray will be punished (4:54). According to Speyer, the same story of Abraham's Testament exists in the Book of Jubilees [1].

The Covenant of Abraharn is an ethical Covenant, to carry revelation and to fuffill it. It is a universal Covenant offered to everyone capable of assuming this moral trust. It is also an individual Covenant offered individually not to a group or to a special people. Lastly, it is a conditional Covenant, a two way Covenant. If man fulfills his terms God does likewise (33:7). This Covenant is that of Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus (42:13). Abraham is the prophet for all nations. His message is universal: worshiping of one God and performance of good deeds. God said to Abraham: "I will make thee an Imam to the nations" (2:124).

Abraham is also the prophet who built the first house of worship for God on Earth. That House will be pure for ever and will never be transformed in to a house of commerce" or of idolatry. This was the Covenant of Abraham to keep the house of God pure and safe (2:125). All nations have to worship in the House of Abraham. All Muslims have to orient their faces towards the House of Abraham which is described in the Our'an as a whole Ummah (16:120).

In the Bible, after he was promised Land, posterity and blessing, Abraham built an alter to God in the Land of Canaan to the east of Bethel and the west of Haion (Cm 12:7). This precise description may suggest that the writer voluntarily and with premeditation wanted to fix the place of the alter in a certain place.

(1) Speyer, p. 172.

Abraham is the founder of a nation of peace. After raising the foundation of the House he prayed: "my Lord, make this a City of peace" (2:126). Whoever enters the House of Abraham enters a house of peace (3:97). Pilgrimage in Islam is made to the House of Abraham. Abraham fulfilled his mission. He understood the words of God and communicated them to his people and to future generations. (2:124). He fought idolatry and succeeded (53:37).

V. Islam, Religion of Abraham.

There is only One Religion, Islam, that has been founded by Abraham. Abraham was a "***Hanif***" and Islam is the religion of the ***Hanifis***, a religion based essentially on the worship of One God and the practice of universal ethics (2:135). Abraham is not a Jew or a Christian but a ***Hanif*** which means a Muslim (3:67). Torrey thinks that the name ***Hanif***, was heard by Muhammad from the Jews, which means those who separate themselves from the worship of false gods. Abraham Fled as a ***Hanif***, a heretic. The Jews in Arabic connected the word with the Arabic ***Hanafa*** which means "to turn aside" and used the Arabic adjective as a term of high praise descriptive of their great ancestor [1]. Torrey considers that before Islam there were in Arabia, not only in Makkah and Madina but also in other cities, seekers of truth who revolted against Arabian idolatry. They called themselves ***Hanifis*** and believed in the religion of Abraham, their ancestor. The Qur'an did the same. The Hebrew term is used in the Qur'an with praise not with reproach as the Hebrew term. The term means those who turned away from surrounding paganism. Snouck Hurgronje denies that Muhammad knew any ***Hanifis*** and that the tradition is from a later growth [2]. Speyer considers the ***Hanifis*** are the representatives of monotheisim in Arabia although in Hebrew it means sessionism [3].

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(1) Torrey, p. 51.
(2) Moubarac, p. 87-91.
(3) Speyer, p. 128.

Those who follow Abraham are those who are worthy of him and who can claim that they are the inheritors of Abraham's legacy (3:68). The relation to Abraham is not a relation of kinship but that of obedience to God. They are those who believe in the religion of Abraham which is the only true religion, the religion which God revealed to every nation without distinction (2:136). God Himself called the followers of Abraham Muslims (23:78). Islam is not a new religion, but that of Abraham. God ordered the prophet of Islam to follow the religion of Abraham (16 : 123).

Margoliouth denies that Abraham was known by the Arabs in the pre-Biblical era. Abraham did not leave his descendants in Arabia but they had emigrated there. Margoliouth uses a philological argument to prove that Abraham was unknown before Islam: Ibrahim has been conceived like Ismail and Israil, vowels given to Ibrahim by conjecture "so utterly unfamiliar were the northern Arabs with the name of the founder of their family" (1).

Abraham called himself a Muslim and his religion Islam. Abraham, after raising the foundations of the House prayed: "Our Lord, make of us Muslims, bowing to Thy (will) and of our progeny a Muslim people, bowing to Thy (will) (2:128). Geiger admits that Abraham is the prototype of the true Muslim, that he is the friend of God, that he founded the Ka'bah and that he had books. But he attributes this to some legendary writings of the Jews and to some Rabbinic literature which attributed to Abraham a cabalistic old book called 'Sepher Jazirah' (2). Torrey admits that the Qur'an gives every prophet a sign. The sign of Abraham was Islam. Torrey also admits the image of Abraham and Ismail in the Qur'an as true Muslims by their submission (3).

The religion of Abraham is the religion of Reason. Abraham in the Qur'an appears as a seeker of truth, a meditator and even a dialectician

(1) Margeliouth, David S., The Relations between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam (London. Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 12.

(2) Geiger, P. 95-6.

(3) Torrey, p. 75-102.

using rational argumentation and experimental demonstrations to prove his claim. Based on his maturel hatred to idols, he looked around him for a more eternal truth. Is it the star, the moon, or the sun? But they disappear and the eternal does not disappear. The eternal is permanent and omnipresent. Then Abraham concludes "for me, I have set my face, firmly and truly towards Him who created the heavens and the earth, and never shall I give partners to God." (6:79). According to Speyer, the Our'anic story of Abraham seeking God follows Josephus Ant. 1:7, 1 as well as the Book of Jubilees 12, 16. The same image of Abraham exists in the Haggada and in Ma'asa Abraham [1].

Abraham in the Qur'an is considered the 'friend of God' (***khalil***) because of his long seeking for God. More precisely God took Abraham as a friend (4:125). Speyer comments that the title 'friend of God' is taken from the 'Apocalypse of Abraham' [2].

Abraham stood firmly in front of the arguments of the unbelievers and made counter arguments. If a king proves his omnipotence on life and death, by abolishing a death sentence or by executing an innocent man, Abraham argues with him if he could rise the sun from the West and set it from the East (2:258). According to Speyer, these discussions with Nemrod follow the Haggada and exist also in the Talmud and Baba-Batra [3].

Reason is not an abstract one. Reason is connected with the certitude of the heart. The rational argument may be true but it has to have an internal foundations in the feelings. That was the way of Abraham. He wanted not only to know the Omnipotence of God by his reason but also to feel it, to experiment it and to see it. "Behold Abraham said : my Lord show me how thou givest life to the dead? He said : Dost thou not then believe? He said : Yea but to satisfy my own understanding (2:260). The story of Abraham destroying the

(1) Speyer, p. 124-26.
(2) Ibid., p. 173.
(3) Ibid., p. 140-4.

idols and hanging the axe at the neck of the big idol left undestroyed is an experimental proof that idols are not God. When the people asked Abraham who destroyed the gods, Abraham replied: "ask them if they can speak intelligently." Abraham asked the people "do ye them worship, besides God, things that can neither be of any good to you nor do you harm? (21:62-6).

The religion of Abraham is the religion of nature. Any one who rejects Abraham's religion is denying his own nature (2:130). Somier remarks correctly that in the Qur'an Abraham is a perfect representative of natural religion while in the Bible he is the first Patriarch [1].

Abraham in the Qur'an represents the rejection of imitation. He never accepts anything without verification. That is why the true Muslim is not that one who accepts without verification the heritage and the customs of his people. Abraham, who has been raised in an idol worshiping society asked his father "takest thou idols for gods? for I see thee and thy people in manifest error (6:74). Abraham had the courage to declare openly to his father that he is wrong in worshiping idols. Although the obedience to one's parents is a part of the obedience to God, when the first comes in conflict with the second. the fire has to yield. Abraham disobeyed his parents but nicely and in a human way. Abraham even asked God forgiveness for his parents, but "when it became clear to him that he was an enemy to God, he dissociated himself from him. For Abraham was most tender-hearted for bearing" (9:114, 60-4). According to Speyer, the struggle between Abraham and his father comes from the Book of Jubilees [2]. According to Geiger, the name of Abraham's father in the Qur'an Azar comes from Eusebius who called him Athar which itself is an easy transition from the Biblical Thara [3]. Geiger sees that Abraham's intercession for his father was fruitless. In the Jewish

(1) Jomier, jacques, The Bible and the Qoran (New York: Desclee Co., 1964). Trans. by Arbe7, Edward p., 60.
(2) Speyer, p. 131.
(3) Geiger, p. 100-1.

view "the son makes his father clean. but not the father the son" (1). Geiger rejects the Islamic idea of individual responsibility because it is against the Jewish concept of collective responsibility in punishment or in reward. Speyer believes that the intercession of Abraham for his father comes from Christian commentaries (2).

God protected Abraham from his people when they put him in fire after his destruction of their idols. God saved him by stopping the fire from burning (21:69). According to Speyer, the story of putting Abraham in fire shows up in ***Passahim*** (3). According to Geiger, the story of Abraham destroying the idols is taken from Rabbinic literature, namely Midrash Rabba (4). Speyer has another point of view and he believes that it is taken from Apocalypse of Abraham, from the Book of Jubilees, from Ma'asa Abraham, and from an early Haggada (5).

Abraham is a model of good behavior "there is for you an excellent example (to follow) in Abraham and those with him." (60:4)

To conclude, the image of Abraham in any tradition is at the roots and the very essence of every religion. In the Bible, Abraham the Father in blood of the Hebrews with whom God made the Covenant and to whom God gave the Promise Land to him and to his posterity is at the root of Jewish ethnocentrism. In the Qur'an, Abraham is a Prophet for all nations to whom God offered the Universal, ethical and conditional Covenant, an idea that is at the root of Islamic Universalism.

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(1) Ibid., P. 98-9.
(2) Speyer, P. 144-5.
(3) Ibid, P. 142-4.
(4) Geiger, p. 96.8.
(5) Speyer, p. 135.

The Status of Women In Islam and Judaism

The status of women in Islam and Judaism can be better understood once compared to her status before Islam and in neighboring Cultures, Persian, Greek, Roman, Hebrew ...etc. In Arabia before Islam, woman was a part of man's belonging. She had no ***raison d'être***. An Arab becomes sad and repressed once it has been announced to him that the new born was a girl. He is ashamed from this dishonour. He runs and buries her alive! (1) In early Judaism, the situation was not very different. The father was entitled to the work of his daughter's hands and to what she finds until she attains the age of puberty (2). The father is empowered to release his daughter from her vows. He could impose vows on her even against her will (3). In early Jewish Law, a daughter had no legal rights. She was merely a member of her father's household, subject to the power of the father. He can even sell her, if a minor (4). In short, both among the Jews and the non-nomadic Arabs, the condition of women was degraded to the extreme. The

(1) "And when it is brought to one of them (the birth of) a female (child) his face darkens, and he is filled with inward griefs. With shame does he hide himself from his people because of the bad news he has had! Shall he retain it on (sufferance) and contempt or bury it in the dust? "16:58-9. 43:17" When the female (infant) buried alive is questioned, for what crime she was killed?. 81:7-8.

(2) Jewish Encyclopedia, "Women" Vol. 12 p. 556 (referred to as J E).

(3) Num. 30.

(4) J E "Daughters in Jewish Law" Vol. 4, p. 448-50.

Hebrew maiden, even in her father's home, stood in the position of a servant. In case of his death, the sons could dispose of her at their will and pleasure [1].

I. Is Woman in Islam and Judaism a Case ?

From the first outlook, woman in Islam is not a special problem or a particular case. Her status is a part of Islamic Jurisprudence in general. Both man and woman are members of the family and of the State. Each one has his own duties and responsibilities. Some Jokers oven say : How could Islam had undermined women in the Qur'an and there is a Surate of "Women" and no Surate of Men?

Indeed, there are no differences between man and woman. Both have. been mentioned in the Qur'an on equal terms [2]. Every Divine Command in the Qur'an beginning by the expression "O Men" Naas means: O men and women because the term "men" in Arabic is a generic noun in plural which means human beings, men and women alike. Another Command which is expressed by "O believers" ***Mu' minun***, is addressed to every believer, man or woman. In grammar, a plural masculine can be used to indicate a plural masculine and feminine. Moreover, to dissipate any doubt, the Qur'an in many occasions adds to masculine plural a feminine plural to emphasize the generic type of the Command including men and woman [3]. The five pillars of Islam: Profession of faith in One God and in the prophet, prayer, alms, fasting and pilgrimage are performed by man and woman alike [4].

(1) A. Ali: The spirit of Islam, P. 227 (referred to as Ali).

(2) "Women has been mentioned in the Qur'an 59 times; "men" 57 times.

(3) "For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women, who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast, for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in God's praise, for them has God prepared forgiveness and great reward." 33:35, Translation of Y. Ali, Beirut, Lebanon.

(4) "The believers, men and women, are protectors one another. They enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil; they observe regular prayers, practice regular charity and obey God and his Apostle..." 9:71.

The Islamic commitment to the moral law is due from man and woman [1]. Both man and woman will be judged according to the same criterion, the good deeds [2].

In Judaism, woman was a case in early Judaism like she was in pre-Islamic Arabia. Her autonomous character as a human being in marriage, divorce and public life was jeopardized. With the progress of time, the status of woman in Judaism became better sometimes under internal pressures and sometimes under external influences. The Prophets participated in this progress by their attacks against polygamy. The Judaic Tradition, The Midrash, the Talmud and the Mishnah contain new laws, very similar to Islamic laws and under its influence, which gave woman in Judaism her rights against the power of the father and the prejudices of the tribe. She could acquire her legal personality, her right to buy and sell, her right to work and to learn, her right in inheritance, and her right in the participation in public life. Polygamy has been limited to four by the Rabbis. It appears that Islam and these late developments in Jewish tradition unviel a higher degree in the development of the human consciousness.

II. Marriage.

In Islam, once the girl attains the age of puberty, she has the right to choose her betrothed and to see him before marriage. No body, her father or her guardian, can impose on her groom. She has to give her personal approval and sign the marriage contract. Although her tacit consent makes marriage valid but a contract with two witnesses from each side is necessary to protect her rights in the present and in the future. The girl keeps her maiden name after marriage. She is not called after her husband. She does not loose her legal personality.

(1) "O Prophet! When believing women come to thee to take the oath of fealty to thee, that they will not associate in worship any other thing whatever with God, that they will not steal that they will not commit adultry, that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood, and that will not disobey thee in any just matter, then do thou receive their fealty and pay to God for the forgiveness..." 60:12.

(2) "Never I will suffer to be lost the work of any of you, be he male or female" 3.195.

She can sign her own legal acts, contracts or agreements of buying, selling, renting ...etc.

In early Judaism, the story of Rebekah proves that a girl should not be coerced into marriage. The civil law gave no force to a such fact but on the contrary, recognized the power of the father to sell his daughter into bondage with the evident intention that she should become the wife of her master or of her master's son. The daughter must be under the age of puberty and the sale is justified only by extreme poverty, although the principal that the father can dispose of the daughter's hand remains intact as it is uttered by the expressions found elsewhere in the Torah. The father had also the power to take a wife for his infant son without the son's consent. Later on, tradition teaches that a mature girl, once more than twelve and half years old, had the right to give her self in marriage; and the same privilege was given to the widow (1).

In the marriage contracts, all the stipulation, are made to protect the rights of the wife. The dowry, ***Mahr***, the amount of money which the groom has to pay to help his pride in preparing and furnishing the home, has to be written (2). Another amount of money has to be written in the contract in which the groom commits himself to pay in case of divorce. In Judaism, dowry appears for the first time in the arrangements for the wedding between king Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter. The Mohr which the groom had to weight out according to the Pentateuch was originally the sum paid for the pride (3).

In Islam marriage has to be concluded with the intention of permanence. Temporary unions have to be admitted only at early Islam for few years and then abrogated. It was a necessity in times of wars as a better human treatment than raping captive women. Soldiers were not allowed to settle in the conquered land. Their role was to islamize Jews. The early custom was to enter into conditional as well as temporary contracts (4).

(1) J E "Woman", Vol. 12, p. 556, Gen. : 23, Ex. 21:7, 14, Deut. 22:11.
(2) "And give the woman (on marriage) their dower as a free gift" 4:4.
(3) J E "Women, Vol. 12, p. 557.
(4) A. Ali p. 227.

Marriage has to be feasted by music. drums, songs and cheers. In some cases, a mutual consent in a tacit agreement between man and woman with a written paper signed by both is enough for the conclusion of marriage. These cases are like fear of threat on the life of one of the two for tribal or other reasons. But in a normal case, whether in Islam or in Judaism, marriage has to be performed in two steps. The first is betrothal in which the agreement in principal is concluded with the recitation of the ***Fatiha***, the first Surate in the Qur'an, and a gift which the groom offers to his future pride. The second is the marriage contract ***Katb el-ketab*** and in Judaism ***Ketubah*** with the witnesses and the payment of the dowry. The nuptial wedding may be on the same day or later.

In Islam, marriage can he made within the same family or without kinship. Laws prohibit only blood relation from the first degree: Mother, grand mother, aunt, sister, daughter. Also are prohibited step mother, foster mother, foster sister, brother's daughter, sister's daughter, step daughter [1]. It is also prohibited to marry two sisters or a mother and her daughter in the same time. But it is permitted to marry daughters from the maternal or paternal uncles and aunts [2]. But kinship in Islam is not a factor in choice. On the contrary, it is recommended to marry outside the family. Marriage can he done between man and woman regardless of color, social class or religion. The only criterion is virtue, righteousness and chastity [3]. The Qur'an exhorts the Muslims to marry the poors and the orphans. Muslim men can marry Jewish or Christian women but Muslim women can not marry Jewish or Christian men. A Muslim women in

(1) "Prohibited to you (for) marriage are your mother, daughters, sisters, daughters under your guardianship born of your wives to whom ye have gone in, no prohibitions of you have gone in; (those who, have been) wives of your sons proceeding from your lions; and two sisters in wedlock at one and the same time. And marry not women whom your father married ..." 4:22-3.

(2) "..... and daughter of thy paternal uncles and aunts and daughters of thy maternal uncles and aunts ..." 33:50.

(3) "Marry those among you who are single, or the virtuous ones among your slaves, male or female. If they axe in poverty God will give them means out of his Grace ..." 24:32.

a such case has to obey her Jewish or Christian husband and has to obey God. If her husband presses her to convert there will be conflict of interest between her obedience to her husband and her obedience to God. But a Muslim man will never coerce a Jewish or a Christian women to convert to Islam because he also believes in Jewish and Christian revelations (1).

In ancient Judaism, endogamy prevailed. Moses married from outside but he was a fugitive and became an adopted member of his wife's tribe. It was looked as right and fitting should the marriage take place within the circle of one's own kindred (2). Till now consanguine diseases threat the life of many deformed new-born children. Jewish men are not allowed to marry non-Jewish women and Jewish women are not allowed to marry non-Jewish men either.

III. Husband and Wife.

Marriage is an association between two equal partners. But in Islam, the relation between man and woman is based on division of work and mutual co-operation. This type of relation requires the submission of woman to man in the family, making from the man the head of the family. This submission is not based on superiority of man or inferiority of woman but on thin division of work, man for the exterior and the woman for the interior. Each one is absolutely responsible and independent in his own world. This division is based on natural, physical and psychological differences between man and woman. Man is physically more powerful and can endure better the fatigue of labor. He is psychologically more stable and can live and stand with the complexity and annoyments of social relations. Woman is more intimate and more kind which permits her to be a source of beauty inside and to cover the children with the highest human

(1) "Lawful unto you in marriage are chaste women who are believers but chaste women among the people of the Book revealed before your times when ye give them their dowers, and desire chastity not lewdness, nor secret intrigues" ...5:7.

(2) Gen. 24:2-4, 29:9, In. 14:3, J E "marriage" VoL 8, p. 336.

feelings. Symbolically the organ of man is outward and the organ of woman is inward. The Qur'an describes the purpose of creation of the woman as to be dwelt in. Man dwells in a woman. God created both from one Soul [1]. Man is less colorful than a woman. Outside world needs reason, inside world needs feelings. Outside world requires tensions, the inside offers rest and relaxation.

Because of this division of work, man in Islam is completely responsible of his home, wife and children. First, he is financially responsible. He has to sustain them. If he fails, the wife can sue him in court. She or her children are not required to work and support themselves or even participate in the burden. The famous superiority many scholars talked about and which the Qur'an gives to man on woman is this financial responsibility of man [2]. Second, man is educationally responsible of his wife and children. He has to educate them end give them all means of learning. Third, man has to protect his wife and children against all kinds of danger. diseases, threats, accidents ...etc.

On the other hand, woman owes obedience, respect and chastity [3]. Obedience does not mean submission without understanding or questioning. Decisions have to be made after free and equal deliberations between both, but final decisions are made by man. According to the Prophet's advise, if a group of people is more than two. they have to choose between them a leader. A family is two or more. The head is the man. He is the husband and the father. It is impossible to direct a group of people with two leaders on the top. Obedience has only one

(1) "It is He who created you from a single person and made his mate of like nature in order that he might dwell with her (in love)" 7:189..."And among his signs is this that he created for you mates from among yourselves that ye may dwell in tranquillity with them and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts) ..." 30:21.

(2) "Men are the protectors and mantainers of women because God has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them from their means ..." 4..34..."And women shall have rights similar to the rights against them according to what is equitable; but men have a degree (of advantage) over them." 2:228.

(3) "Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient and guard in (the husband's) absence what God would have them guard." 4:34.

exception, that is if the husband orders his wife or any child to disobey God in any of His Commands. In such case, disobedience is a religious duty.

All kinds of bad treatments of man to his wife are absolutely prohibited like insults, hard beating or abandon in bed more than four months. Before Islam, men used to abandon their wives; Neither they satisfy them nor they divorce them. This was called ***Zihar*** which means literarily to give one's back to. Man says to his wife: You are to me like my mother to me [1]. Man can admonish her first, then abandon her, then make a symbolic gesture of beating which the jurists have described as beating with a tooth brush [2].

In early Judaism, the wife was regarded as property. ***Ba'al*** means literarily owner or master and ***Ba'alah*** the owned. As punishment to the first sin, she has to be subject to her husband and he has to rule over her. The husband is the owner and she is regarded as his possession. His duties are to provide her with food, of raiment and of cohabitation. He has also, three additional duties: 1) to deliver, a marriage contract Ketubah stipulating: a) that the wife shall obtain her supports from the deceased husband's estate as long as she remains in his house. b) that their daughters shall be supported from the estate until they reach the age of maturity or until they become betrothed. c) that the sons shall merit their mother's ketubah over and above their portion in the estate with the children of other wives. 2) To provide medical attendance and care for her during sickness. 3) To pay her ransom if she to be taken captive. 4) To provide suitable burial for her. On the other hand, the husband has his rights. He is entitled to:

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(1) "For those who take an oath of abstention from their wives, a waiting four months is ordained. If they return God is forgiving, most merciful. But If their intention is firm for divorce, God heareth and knoweth all things."2.226..." If any man among you divorce their wives by Zihar calling them mothers, they cannot be their mothers, nor can be their mothers except those who gave them birth..." 58:2.

(2) "As to those women on whose part of fear disloyalty and ill-conduct admonish them (first next) refuse to share their beds (and last) beat them (lighty); But if they return obedience, seek not against them means of annoyance)" 4.34.

1) All his wive's earnings. 2) All her chance gains. 3) The usufruct of her property. 4) lie becomes her sole her after her death [1].

Polygamy.

Although polygamy is a part of marriage, but it makes a special case, provided its importance as institution. Before Islam, polygamy was practiced as unlimited number of wives. Men married to exploit women and to let women work for them. They also married for military purposes, to conclude treaties or to have numerous children, useful in war and to be the future soldiers of the tribe. Marriage was also a mean to intercourse. Intercourse was made in different ways: An agreement between two men that each maries the daughter of the other; marriage made between a man and a woman after being experimented by another to prove that she is not sterile; polyandry permitting one woman to ten men and the attribution of the child to any one of them; prostitution and the attribution of the child to any one of the clients; temporary unions; marriage of a man to his mother in law after the death of his father, swinging, free relationship or marriage of the widow with a member of the family [2].

After Islam, polygamy was not a vested right of man but a rare exception whether in theory or in practice. In theory, it is the last solution for some difficult situations, individual or social. One of them is the sterility of the woman. In such a case, if a man has a strong desire for posterity, he will feel miserable and frustrated. The divorce of the woman is also unjust, being not responsible of her physical disability. It is better and not worse if man remarried after taking the permission of his wife. Sara even went and fetched a second wife, Hagar, to Abraham. Another case may be the absolute physical disability of the wife like complete paralysis or mental disease. Divorcing her will be unjust and inhuman. A free relation which man may have with another woman is immoral and cheating.

(1) J. E, "Husband and wife", Vol 6. 308-10.
(2) M. Darwaza, Woman in he Qur'an and the Sunna, p. 17-9 (in Arabic).

The less harmful of all solutions, within the spirit of realism which characterizes Islamic Law, is for the man to remarry. A third case is also possible when in a country after war the number of females, widows and orphans, exceed considerably the numbers of males [1]. Monogamy in a such case does injustice to a considerable number of women. Three solutions are offered to them, all are immoral and inhuman: prostitution and concubinage which are immoral, abstinence of sex and family life, which is also inhuman. Only polygamy in such a hypothetical case is less harmful and more beneficial, although not the ideal. The Qur'an limited the number of wives to two, three and maximum four. This graduation in number means that it the situation is solved by two, three will be illegal, and if it is solved by three, four will be illegal. If man is not satisfied by four then the problem is in him not in the external world. Surely, such situations are not the ideal ones and the Qur'an admits it. But to be less harmful and to cause less damages is better than to be more harmful and to do more damages. The jurists have requested a separate home for every wife. Man has to sustain all his wives equally. He has to treat them equally on all levels, material as well as moral. He has to divide his nights between them equally and to divide also his feelings between them equally. And the Qur'an adds: that is impossible to realize even if man desires! [2]. Polygamy is then conditioned by equity and equity is impossible to realize. Then polygamy cannot be permitted in principal but only as the rare exception. In actual Muslim societies, underdeveloped and ignorant as they are, polygamy is not a case at all. It does not represent more than 01% of the population in any Muslim country. In Judaism, polygamy existed among the Israelites before the time of Moses who continued the institution without imposing any limits on the number of marriages a Hebrew husband might contract. The great Patriarchs of the Hebrews, who are regarded the followers of all

(1) "If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal just with the orphans marry women of your choice, two or three or four..." 4:3.

(2) "... But if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them) then only one ..." 4:3..."ye are never able to be fair and just as between women, even if it is your ardent desire..." 4:129.

Semitic creeds as examples of moral grandeur, practiced polygamy to an extend which to our modern ideas seems the culmination of legalized immorality. In later times, the Talmud of Jerusalem restricted the number by the ability of the husband to maintain the wives properly. Although the Rabbis counseled that a man should not take more than four wives, the karaites differed from them and did not recognize the validity of any limitation [1].

Polygamy in Islam and Judaism is indeed polygamy. Concubinage with women-slaves was an institution in the ancient World. Arabs and Jews new and practiced it. It is the union of people standing to each other in the relation of master and slave without the sanctions of matrimony. David and Solomon had hundreds of legal wives and women-slaves. They were not blamed except in the case of David killing his army chief Uriah and taking his wife. The other case is of Solomon obeying the foreign woman in performing non-Jewish rituals [2]. Not infrequently the Hebrew slave-girl became the wife, or the concubine of her master [3].

In Islam, marriage is also possible with women-slaves. Although much talk has been heard in the West about slavery in Islam. slavery was an institution admitted in the ancient World. it has been practiced in the Persian and the Roman Empires. It was a source of income as a big trade. Islam appeared and wanted to succeed in abolishing it. If Islam had come with a direct and formal prohibition, no body would have obeyed and Islam would have failed. But Islam wanted to abolish the roots of slavery from the heart First. Once these roots are uprooted, slavery as institution will collapse. First, Islam prohibited any kind of discrimination between men and women according to color, race, social class. Genealogy, wealth or others, making from the good deed the only criterion for the value of man. A righteous slave is better than a treacherous master. Second, Islam exhorted Muslims having slaves to treat them equally, not to exploit them,

(1) Ali, p. 238, p. 222-3.
(2) 2 Sam. 12:8-9. 1 ki 2:1-3.
(3) Gen. 16:3, 30.3,9.

live with them in the same home and to eat with them on the same table. Third, if a Muslim commits a religious sin, like breaking his fast, he must free a slave as an atonement for his sin. That means slavery is equal to sin. Fourth, a slave has to be bought and freed by wealthy Muslims as a voluntary religious duty. Freedom of the other prevails on man's wealth. Fifth, a slave has to be freed if he works well and if he shows bravery in war. Sixth, if a woman slave has a child she is freed, and becomes the master's wife. She and her child can inherit when the father dies. All these measures have indeed uprooted slavery from the heart and subsequently, by the force of time, it has been abolished as institution. Actually, the problem is irrelevant by the abolishment of slavery.

V. Divorce.

Although divorce is the most hateful permission in Islam, it can happen once the family life cannot continue any more. Before divorce, a mediation of a third party has to be tried between husband and wife. A party from his family and a party of her family come together and try in absolute neutrality and objectivity to be a just arbiter between husband and wife in the conflict. A mere presence of a third person is a psychological mean through which the passions, the grievances and the anger of both partners are calmed down and satisfied. If not, divorce then becomes necessary [1].

Before Islam, divorce was made without rules or any legal cause. It was an absolute right of man, a word which man can utter any time, and his wife becomes divorced. After Islam, there should be a legal, cause like adultery, abandon of the marital house, constant disobedience, failure in fulfilling the wife's duties ***vis à vis*** her husband or her children. Although man can use his power of utterance, based in one of these legal causes but his wife, if she feels that there is no

(1) "If ye fear a breach between them twain appoint (two) arbiters, one from his family and another from hers; if they wish for peace God will cause their reconciliation." 4:3S... "if a wife fears cruelty of desertion on husband's part there is no blame on them if thy arrange an amicable settlement between themselves; As such settlement is best" 4.128.

justified reason, can go to court and asks for proofs which make a legal of divorce. On the other band, although the wife has no right to utter the world "I divorce thee", she asks the court to divorce her if she can prove a legal cause from her side like the failure of man to fulfill his financial responsibilities, sexual impotence, abandon of the house, negligence of his educational role, disappearance ...etc. Every partner is entitled to a bill of divorce.

Once divorce is made, all divorcee's rights are protected. She has to receive the amount of money stipulated for on the marriage contract which is usually similar to the dowry and sometimes more. All the marital home belongs to her: belongings, gifts, jewelry, cloth ...etc [1]. She has also to receive another amount of money sufficient to sustain her for a whole year, a transitional time from her past marriage to her future life. If she has children, man has to sustain them till they become adults capable of earning and supporting themselves. That means he has to pay for his children till their graduation. If they are below nine years (or eleven according to other schools of Law), the mother keeps them. Thereafter, they are transferred to their father. The mother still has the right to see them regularity, defend them and go to court in case of man's negligence. If she is pregnant. divorce is postponed till she lays the child and during that time, she stays with her husband, feelings may change, things may become better and divorce is finally dismissed [2]. (Unfinished)

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(1) "But if ye decide to take one wife in place of another, even if ye had given the latter a whole treasure for dower, take not the least bit of it back. Would ye take it by slender and a manifest wrong? And how could ye take it when ye have gone in unto other and they have taken from you a solemn covenant!' 4:20-1..."It is not lawful for you (men), to take back any of your gifts (from your wives)..." 2..229.

(2) "For these who carry (life within their wombs) their period is until they deliver their burdens." 65.4...'And if they carry me in their wombs), then spend on them until they deliver their burden. And if they stickle your (offspring) give them their recompense. And take mutual counsel together according to what is just and reasonable".



Joachim of Fiore and Islam

Introduction.

It is not customary to look for the influence of Islamic Culture on Western Civilization when the first was at its peak while the second has just began to move. Most of Western scholars are culturo-centric. They can easily look for the influence of the Western Culture on Non-Western civilizations whether in ancient times by following the traces of Greek, Persian, or Indian Cultures on Islam and Islamic Civilization, or in Modern times by attributing modern reforms and social change in the Muslim World like.. reason, progress, democracy, secularism, socialism...etc to the impact of the West. Only few scholars can shy away from this culturo-centrism and see things as they are without prejudices. Cultures in history follow the law of tide and ebb. Joachim of Fiore lived in a time where the Medieval Christian Europe was at the tide and Islam was at the ebb.

For the analysis of such cultural interaction, the historical method can be of a tremendous help. But it is not the only one. It can show the channels of communications between the giver and the receiver. It can also point out the data transmitted from one culture to another. However, a causal interpretation of cultural interaction is not always possible. A structural method describing the logic of thought and the

structure of the mind as well as of reality, regardless of the causal relation in time and in space can also be helpful in understanding what the historical method cannot explain. A psycho-analytical method explaining the flux of the sub-consciousness where the cultural interaction took place is also helpful in a vision of depth of cultural phenomena. A phenomenological method describing the essence of cultural experiences is able to trespass the two previous levels, the external and the internal, the causal and the simultaneous, the linear and the cumulative, the diachronic and the synchronic to a third level that of the essence which cannot be reduced to its material carriers, physical of psychological. The essence which is the Ultimate Reality is objective and universal and can be seen by any human mind in any time and space, without pushing to an open theory of arch-types [1]. The problem of pseudo-writings shows that Joachimsim is not of Joachim but it is an exigency of any time and even of any time resembling that in which Joachim lived [2].

I. The Cultural Site In South Italy in XII Century, The Translation of Islamic Disciplines From Arabic to Latin.

The relation of Europe to Islam occurred whether from Spain and specially Toledo, from Sicily and south Italy (kingdom of Naples) and later from Istanbul from the East. Calabria where Joachim lived was a part of two Sicilies. Sicily before the Normands, was held by the Muslims and had a majority of Muslims [3].

Translations from Arabic to Latin, directly or through Hebrew, have been done in all parts with equal zeal. The work was done by a

(1) Grundmann in his "Studien" concludes that, although some similarities exist between Joachim and early Christian Thought, it is difficult to judge that he has been influenced by it. "Joachim is certainly original in applying the scholastic method to the development and exposition of his ideas" Douie, p. 32.

(2) Some pseudo-writings of Joachim were known in Germany in the XV and the XVI centuries and were known by Luther and Melancheton. (Douie p. 36), P. Fournier studied one of these pseudo-writings "Liber de vera philosophia" and affirmed its authenticity by a simple resemblance of ideas. P. Fournier: Etudes sur Joachim do Flore, P. 79-100.

(3) Bett, p. 2-3.

Muslim or by a converted Jew to Islam who shortened the book and translated it. Toledo was specially the biggest center of Greco-Arabic philosophy in the XII century. Bishops promoted the translations of works of Muslim as well as Jewish philosophers. Gundesalevi, John of Spain, Ibn Daoud and Gerard of Cremona were the most important translators who undertook this endeavor. Most of the areas were: Logic, Physics. Metaphysics, Psychology, Cosmology without counting Mathematics and Medicine. Philosophy of history was a part of Metaphysics. Muslims as well as Greeks were occupied in formulating a "***Philosophia Perennis***", not a philosophy of history. However. in the XII century, there were many writings on Trinity and philosophy of history which Etienne Tempier condemned in 1277, one century later. Previously, the Council of 1209 hit the Arabic Aristotle translated to Arabic and explained by the Arabs. An anonymous treatise of the XII Century from a Spanish quarter describes the journey of the souls after death, where at the end it affirms with conviction that the ten felicities and the ten miseries were known by Moses, by Jesus and by Mohammed. Naturally, Jesus was greater than the two others (1).

Alexander of Hales, the founder of the Franciscan school was the first of the scholastics who accepted and propagated the influence of Arabic philosophy. We now how Joachim was the spiritual guide for the Fratecilli, as if there was a natural affinity between the three of them. Also Jacob of Larocelle followed the same path and adopted the psychology of Avicenna (2).

Although Fredrich II came at the hiel of Joachim, he inherited a whole cultural atmosphere impregnated by Islam in the XII century. He had a special predilection for the Arabs and like them believed in the idea of civilization, namely the noble and liberal development of human nature in opposition to subjection and authoritarianism in which medieval Europe was living. He broke with religious institutions

(1) E. Gilson, p. 243.
(2) E. Renan, p. 261.

and came closer to a religion without authority except that of the Spirit which Joachim in the eve had claimed for. Islam expressed better his views and he would have said like Philipp August "Happy Saladin who has no Pope!". During his visit to Jerusalem, he mocked openly at Christianity and asked, during his visit to Omar Mosque, Muslim scholars about problems of Mathematics. Michel Scot. his philosopher, was the first to translate Averrois to Latin. His court was an active center of Islamic Culture. The Emperor knew Arabic. One of the highest moments of this relation between the Emperor and the Muslim philosophers was "Sicilian Questions." The Emperor sent to scholars from different countries a sery of philosophical questions, no body was able to give him a satisfactory answer. After giving all hope, he addressed himself to the Kalif of Almohad Rashid to discover the residence of Ibn Sab'in of Mercia, the most famous philosopher of Magreb and Spain and to deliver to him his questions program: The eternity of the world, the convenable method for Metaphysics and Theology, the value and number of categories, the nature and immortality of the soul and the difference between Alexander Afrodite and Aristotle. The answer of Ibn Sab'in was some how embarrassing, every line there were "esoteric precautions" which cannot be truly Communicated in written, but only orally. Joachim had also his esoteric interpretation of the Bible. Esoteric interpretation was common in Spain, in Sicily and in Calabria and well practiced after Ibn Arabi and Ibn Sab'in, the two famous mystics of Spain. In this atmosphere of extreme respect to Islamic culture, traditions made the two sons of Averrois living in the court of Fredrich II, as it was reported by Gilles of Rome. The heterodox movement of the "Eternal Gospel" containing mystical and romantic tendencies which began by Joachim continued by John of Parme. Gerard of San Donino, Ubertin of Casale, Peter of Bruys, Valdo, Dolcino and the brother of "***libre esprit***" till the XIV century in the German mystics. this movement may be a crystallization of this Islamic spirit in Spain, in Sicily and in Calabria (1). The Islamic

(1) Bett, 3, 91-21.

influence has been always proposed by many scholars but as a mere hypothesis because of the lack of evidence. Bert makes a double influence on Joachim from Greek Orthodoxy and from Islam. He says: "... but the Greek influences around him and also his contact with Islam must have counted for something in Joachim's development [1]. He says also: "At home and abroad, he had been in contact with Greek church and with Islam. It is difficult to resist the thought that there is one of the formative influences in his life and thought it must be confessed that there is no actual evidence of it." The evidences can be assumed from the cultural erea he lived in. "He traveled in the Holy Land and met with followers of Mohammed there and in Sicily, under the tolerant Norman Kingdom of which he was a subject, there was a flourishing Islamic community." Bett also adds.. "in any case, the Greek and Saracenic culture with which he was in contact an his life must have counted for something in his thought. He could not altogether escape it, living at that time and in that locality."

Beside this honorable and high idea of Islamic culture which infiltrated the soul of medieval Europe, there was another image, poor and mediocre, which the Christians made of Islam out of ignorance. Mohammed was seen as an idol worshiped by his Companions. It was impossible to compare Christianity with this ridiculous superstitions. But things changed a little after the works of Peter the Venerable and of Robert of Retins on the Qur'an and after the Crusades and the polemic books written by the Dominicans which gave an idea more exact about Islam (which they called Islamism by analogy to Christianism). Mohammed appeared as a prophet, founder of a monotheistic Cult. There were then three religions founded on similar principals intermingled

(1) Ibid., p. 291. Bett goes further and see, in view of Joachim's contact with Islam that the exact period of 1260 years which is central to his system is also crucial in the Babi Greed. Bab in his manifestation declaring that he is the messia of Islam was in 1844 which correspond 1260 of Hegra. The Bab is also regarded as the initiation of the age of the spirit. Dr. Coulton suggested, and Bett agreed, "an ancient idea, lastant in Muslim thought, picked up separately by Joachim in the twelve century and by Mirza Ali Mohammed in the nineteenth".

with fables. A dialogue between the three religions began by Christianity refuting the two others. Peter the Venerable refuted the Qur'an, Ricardo of Monte Croce wrote "Cribation Alcorani". Saladin during the Crusades was seen as infidel superior in good will in loyalty and in humanity to those adventurers who pretended representing the Christian faith in the East [1].

Joachim lived in this era of comparing three religions with the heated topic of the "Three Imposters", Moses, Jesus and Mohammed". The relation between the three religions is not a hazardous one, but internal, historically and philosophically. Every religion is leading to the other and fulfilled in it. Islam (Islamism) finally called the two precedent religions to dialogue, that every religion has its own truth and has to be judged according to the moral effects it produces. The Parallel of the three religions has been openly professed by the school of Baghdad. The book of Shahrastani exposing with impartiality philosophical and religious sects, admitting the good and positive aspects of every one was only possible within Islam. Other comparisons are done by similie: Jews are images dreamers. Christians missed the path and Muslims are outside the path. Only mystics are. Jesus came to abolish the Law and Mohammed came to institute the Law of nature. Muslim theologians and mystics, every group on its own and by its own method, saw in Islam a third and a final fulfillment of an absolute religion which combined Grace and Nature, especially mystics who criticized all forms of cult in synagogues, in monasteries or even around the Ka'aba! Some Muslim historians spoke of people with religion without cult. Even more, the three, religions were seen in three different ages of history: Judaism is a religion of childhood. Christianity is a religion of early adolescence and Islam is a religion of the maturity. Many says of the prophet Mohammed suggest such interpretations. Sometimes the comparison is done purely philosophically: Judaism is a religion of senses. Christianity is a religions of feeling and Islam is a religion of reason. Christianity was seen as an impossible

(1) E. Renan: p. 281-2.

religion, a scandal, a mystery and a choc to reason. Christians eat their God in the Eucharist! In short, the comparison of three religions according to three ages in history or three faculties of man was a well known topic in the XII Century. The famous Khuzari where a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim dialogue with each other, is from that period. Averrois has his ***Loquentes trium Iegum***, his typology of religious discourse: Rhetoric, Dialectic, Demonstrative [1]. Joachim in his periodization of history may have once more conceptualized a major and dominant feeling in the XII Century. Bett says: "It is possible, as it has been suggested, that Averroistic tendencies reaching him through the Saracen culture vague dreams of a universal religion, a future age of spirituality in which all separating, forms and all partial dogmas could Disappear" [2].

II. Negative Influence, Apparent Resistance.

The writings of Christian philosophers and Theologians in the XII century, the danger of the Muslims (Saracens) was a common theme. The big danger came from the dominant Islam in north Africa and widespread parts of Spain [3]. His most redoubtable hero, Saladin reconquered the Holy City. The expedition lead to the East by the Emperor Fredrich has sadly failed, and the persecution raged against the Christians of the East [4]. The soul of Joachim vibrated

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(1) Ibid., 294-5.

(2) Bett, 19-20.

(3) On the Muslims, Expositio, folio, 164 V end, (Fournier, P.13). Joachim's work has been printed in XVI century. He has three major works:

1- Expositio In Apocalypsim, begun about 1184 and not finished until after 1196.

2- Psallerium decem Chordarum, begun before 1184 and finished about 1200. Both are edited in one volume in Venise 1527.

3- Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti, begun before 1184 and probably completed about 1189.

Manuscrips: Super IV Evangelia (Concordia Evangeliorum). Renan denies the authenticity of this book. (Fournier p.3). Two small treatises: Contra Judeos, and De airticulis Fiedi. De Unitate Trinitatis and super quatour Evangelia and two latin hymns De patria Celesti and Do Gloria paradise are appended to the Psalterium. Bett, 23.

(4) Expositio, Fol. 134 V, Fournier p. 13-14.

when he thought the pains endured by these regions where he spent his youth. "How many thousands of Christians have fallen down in the hands of the unbelievers? How could the enemies of faith hatredly subject the Crucified to tortures? Vainely were the crusaders victorious on them! It seems that the beast have not died under their hits!" [1] Saladin appeared to Joachim as the successor of that line of famous tyrants who since Nero and the imperial adversary of Gregory VII have waged wars against Christ and his Church. Mohammed, Melsemytus, (Yusuf II, Abu Yakub) Saladin are three, out of seven persecutors of the church with Herod, Nero, Constantinus, and Anti-Christ. Five of them are from the past, Saladin of the present and the Anti-Christ will shortly come [2]. The Saracens are considered one of five groups enemies to religion with four others; Jews, Gentiles, heretics and the proud Christians who are the multitude of the reprobate [3]. Now the Muslims are eager of carnage and devastation! One day Muslims and Manicheans will unify their forces against Christianity. When this league will be concluded between the external enemy and the internal enemy, it will be the moment for the Church to repeat the words of the Holy Scripture "the sourd is without and the pestilence and the famine within" [4]. Joachim also learned from good sources that the Patarins sent messengers to the Muslims to organize a common action against the Church [5]. The persecutor king may have appeared in the person of redoubtable Saladin who after conquering the Holy City prepares himself to launch his armies against Christendom [6]. Islam apparently has encircled Christianity and the Christians have been besieged by Islam which was in its origin a Christian shism, has been expelled out of France. Christians have to continue the fight of this animal and his followers [7].

(1) Expositio, Fol. 164 V, Fournier, p. 14.
(2) Melsemytus is apparently Yusuf II (Abu Ya'Kub) 1163-84 the second of Almohad. Bett, 12.
(3) Bett, 40.
(4) EZ. V14 15.
(5) Fournier, p. 26.
(6) Ibid., p. 24-5, Douie, p. 230.
(7) Benz, p. 421-67.

In the periodization of every stage by Joachim, Islam appears as the "*bête noire*". The sixth and seventh period of the New Testament a redoubtable persecution of the Church will occur, performed by a conquerant out of Islam. The blood of the martyrs will be shed as in ancient time of Nero and Diocletien. Later, a period of justice and misecricord will he initiated by the unconscious ministers of the providence, scaling the Muslim and the Barbarian world and opening the Sabatical period [1]. At that time the conversion of Muslims and Jews is an eschatological sign, where the Church will extend from the sea to the sea [2]. These negative images of Islam and the Muslims are purely external in Joachim's thought. They were popular images of the masses, propagated Church. They were the views of the religious establishment and the official positions of government. Joachim lived in a turning point of Christianity. The Crusades shacked the consciousness of every Christian in medieval Europe. Reflections on history begins once history becomes a drama. The fall of Jerusalem in 1187 is compared to the previous falls in the hands of Babylonians, Greeks and Romans. Has not Christ predicted the destruction of the temple, Joachim himself may have predicted the victory of the Crusaders in the seventh year after the fall of Jerusalem in the hands of Saladin in 1194. Joachim lived in the Mediterranean regions where Latins, Byzantins and Muslims were struggling for power. In this Zeitgeist Joachim saw the destiny of Christianity [3]. Joachim was not only an observer of history. He made a journey to the East, to Constantinople. In Sicily, he saw Philip August and Richard the Heart of the Lion leading with their armies towards the east. He spoke with the king of England who was interested in his apocalyptic revelation. Islam gave Joachim the cultural and historical site from where his ideas have originated. In spite of this apparent resistance to Islam as Culture and as power, there was a real infiltration of Islam in Joachim's vision.

(1) Fournier, P. 21-2.
(2) Douie, p. 46-7, p. 114.
(3) Fournier, p. 5-6.

III. Positive Influence: Real infiltration of Islamic Ideals.

If the negative influence of Islam on Joachim can be easily depicted through the historical method by the analysis of passages where Joachim refers to Islam negatively, the positive influence of Islam on Joachim cannot be depicted only through the same method. The affinity of Joachim's ideas with Islamic Ideals needs a depth analysis, only possible by psycho-historical structural or phenomenological methods. This affinity can be easily situated in eight eras.

1. Dialectic of History: How Joachim was able to transform the dogma of Trinity to a dialectic of history? What were his motives and what were the options before him? Joachim rejected all kinds of unitarian doctrine of God. He rejected Arianism Islam favors indeed. On the other hand, he rejected all rational interpretations of Trinity in the name of reason offered by Judaism, Islam and Sabellianism Joachim considered Sabellianism as a rational heresy trying to attenuate the mystery. It is the heresy of cultivated minds which see in the Trinity a stone of scandal as it is the case for the Jews and the Muslims (Mohametans). Peter Lombard, influenced by such rationalism falls also under this category. This is the annihilation of the Trinity by the enemies of faith. A pact between the chiefs of the Muslims and the false prophets of Catharcism was concluded in order to destroy the Trinity under the direct inspiration of Satan, the father of lies (1).

Joachim then proposed a third alternative, neither Arianism nor Sabellianism, the conversion of Trinity to a dialectic of history, the period of the father where mankind was under the Law, the period of the son where mankind became under the Grace and the period of the Holy Spirit where mankind now lives under love, free from authoritarianism, of fear, of faith and of clergy (2). How could Joachim switch the vertical to the horizontal, the eternal to the temporal and the static to the dynamic?

(1) Expositio, Fol. 167 V, Fournier C. 33.

(2) Joachim gives the following similes for his three periods: brass, silver and gold; starlight, dawn and full day light; water, wine and oil; star, moon and sun; married, clerks and monks. (Douie, p.123; Fournier, P, 18).

History is apparently absent from the Islamic Culture. Theologians spoke at the previous revelations. History for them was history of prophecy or history of religions. Jurists also saw history as the previous revelations which cannot be considered as source of Islamic Law. The Muhaddithun viewed history as a critical history of the narrations, and conceived for the first time the method of historical criticism. Philosophers operated in a historical vision and divided philosophy to: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics. Mystics, like Augustin, tried to follow up the genesis of the world since creation. Only mystics had this historical vision of the world where Divinity appears progressively. The Greeks also before the Muslims operated in the eternity of the Nous. They did not have the historical dimension either. Historiography conceived history year after year and wrote Annals without periodization. Only Ibn Khaldun had the idea of history but it was, a curve concept. rise and fall.

But in the Qur'an, it is clearly stated that the wisdom behind the sending of revelation, step by step, is the progress in history of mankind and the educative role revelation plays. The Qur'an describes the Jewish Law as an educational mean to subdue the human will to the Divine Will. The experience succeeded with some. the remnant, but failed with the majority as if a simple obedience to a formal Law based on fear and punishment does not progenerates piety. Then, the second step appeared carrying the opposite experience as a break through, appealing to love, piety, humility, charity as universal and self-sufficient values, as content without form, as a conduct of the heart without a formal law. The experience succeeded with some, even if they have been condemned to monastic life, but failed with the majority who rejected these high, ideals and converted to the opposite, to the pure matter, by force of reaction. The pure spirit has been institutionalized and ipso facto has been killed. Then Islam came and unified Law and Love, the spiritual and the temporal, the kingdom of heavens and the kingdom of earth, the unification of the two opposites in a third potential one which can be realized by the good deed. Therefore the historical dialectic of Joachim is the same

as the dialectic of history implied in the Qur'an and the ***raison d'être*** of Islam, religion of the spirit, after Judaism, the religion of the law, and Christianity, religion of the Grace. Revelation is a dialectic in history. What Islam had affirmed six centuries before Joachim in the Qur'an and six centuries after Joachim in the Enlightenment by Herder, Kant and all the Philosophers of Enlightenment in England, France and Germany. Lessing his "Education of human race" conceived the dialectic of history in there periods: Law, Love and Reason. Shelling also did the same: Catholicism is the age of Peter, Protestantism is the age of Paul, the ideal Church is the age of John [1].

2. Eschatology: Eschatology is the continuation of history in the future. It is an apocalyptic history. As history began, the world will come to an end. Before the end, there will be signs. Joachim mentions two: Anti-Christ and Gog and Magog, both are represented by the Pope! Gog and Magog are two pegans giants who will appear, palms in their hands, singing and rejoicing the last angel, Pope. But when Magog takes leadership of the universe, the end of temporal things will come. The traditional Muslims add to these two signs many others like the split of the moon and the sun, the sunrise from the west and the sunset from the east, the appearance of the Leviathan and the coming of the Anti-Christ. The eschatological signs were widespread in Spain, Sicily and Calabria. Both Joachim and some Muslim theologians thought that by reading the Scriptures we can foretell the future. The Qur'an did it by foretelling the victory of the Romans (Christians) on the Persians (Pegans) [2]. Joachim saw in the Exodos the forthcoming of the reign of peace and tranquility of the Holy Spirit. He does not feel any disturbance by his anachronism either in his philosophy of history or in his eschatology [3]. Joachim is still operating ***sub que eternitate***. The Qur'anic Vision of history and eschatology is also combining history and eternity. A philosophical vision of history is never a chronicle.

(1) Douie, p. 37; also K. Lowith, P. 143-59.
(2) Qur'an, 30.2-6.
(3) Douie, p. 25; p. 46-7; Founnier, p. 23.

3. The Spirituals: Like in Islamic mysticism, Joachim conceived the world from Spirituals which are the components of the Cosmos. The Spirituals are the mystical atoms or the modern Monads. Muslim mystics interpreting the Qur'an, gave mankind a preexistence in Monadic form where all men have witnessed the Lordship of God [1]. The recognition in our lives of the authority of the spirit is only a reiteration of what we have witnessed before in the spiritual world. The Spirituals are also the "separated substances" like Soul and Nous. God used by some religious thinkers as a justification of the existence of Angels. They are the pure forms of Medieval philosophies which Fredrich II was inquiring about from Christians and Muslims alike [2]. The matter according to Muslim mystics is a low level of Spirit. Spirit is primer matter from which the Cosmos was created. Therefore, Joachim's vision of the Spirituals is conform to the mystical vision well known in Medieval Europe which came out of Islamic mysticism crystallized by Ibn Sab'in in his "Sicilian Questions".

4. The Allegorical Interpretation: The new cannot come of the old without an allegorical interpretation. The literal Interpretation confines itself to the old, scarifying completely the new. Joachim restituted the tradition of allegorical interpretation since Philo. There were six methods of interpretation: the historical which is the literal, the moral, the tropological, the contemplative, the anagogic and the typical. All are allegorical. Muslim mystics had already at that time practiced and propagated the allegorical interpretation when theology and jurisprudence yielded to philosophy and mysticism. All Joachim's ideas are indeed applications of his allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures. The understanding of Trinity as periodization of history was the result of the allegorical interpretation of the Trinity. He used different modes of explanation of the sacred texts to signify something else. The sense of allegory changed according to his motives and even to his caprices. Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist is the

(1) Qur'an, 7:172.
(2) Douie, p. 35; Bett, p. 23.

Synagogue. Afterwards, she represents the Church of the second stage, the Church of Christ. The Virgin represents the Church of the East where monasticism developed and also the Church of Contemplation of the last time. The same oscillation exists in the interpretation of Sara and Hager [1].

5. The Eternal Gospel: Once dialectic of history is fulfilled, revelation becomes an Eternal. The Eternal Gospel is a liberation from the letter and the affirmation of the living thought which will be carried by the Angel of the Apocalypse throughout heavens and presented at all, nations of Earth [2]. The Eternal Gospel cannot be institutionalized. It is anti-clerical in nature. Institution means history, development, time, space and above all worldly affairs and human power. Although he had not identified the Church with Babel, but for him there was no ***raison d'être*** for a clergy in the new age of contemplation and righteousness. The temporal Church is corrupted and her rulers live in luxury and pride. The Church of God became a house of commerce. Priests and clerks have sold themselves voluntarily. Those who elect and those who are elected participate in the same crime against the spirit. Men in large numbers rush towards the clergy by eager to material favors [3]. Joachim considered the second Anti-Christ as a prince of the Church, a pseudo-Pope. The Anti-Christ is born in Rome. Babylon is also Rome on the pontifical seat. The Pope is the Vicar of the Anti-Christ. But God took his revenge by the fall of Jerusalem in the hands of Saladin in 1187. Joachim's model is a religion without Church, a religion of the spirit and not a religion of authority. This is an Islamic model which infiltrated Medieval Europe since the antagonism of Fredrich II to the Papacy till modern anti-clericalism and contemporary secularism.

6. Contemplation: Before Joachim, mysticism and philosophy were two different paths. The Christian can be one or the other.

(1) Fournier, P. 3 1. Ibid, p. 17.
(2) Ibid, p. 17.
(3) Ibid., p. 5,9, Douie, p. 48.

Since Augustin, speculative mysticism appeared again making from contemplation the highest act of intellect and subsequently the highest act of worship. Contemplative life is superior to active life. Later the order of the Contemplatives claimed that they owed their allegiance to Joachim [1]. Contemplation was indeed a widespread value in philosophy and in mysticism alike. Contemplation was a theory of knowledge and happiness all over Muslim Spain and Southern Italy. Without being the followers of the Greeks, Muslim philosophers followed their own path, contemplation being their first religious duty. They saw in the Nous the Subject and the Object Before contemplation, the intellect of man is in potentia. After contemplation, it becomes in actus. God is the intellect Agent. On the other hand, Joachim sometimes declares that active life is not worthy of all despise, but rituals are. The anti-ritualism of Joachim is a result of making Contemplation the highest act of worship. Joachim had no sympathy for canonic Law. He was more tended towards feelings shared with him by the mystics. He expressed with complete fidelity the Zeitgeist where he lived and which Muslim philosophers and mystics blew.

7. The Ethical Interpretation: Joachim gave an ethical interpretation to Christianity. He was the father of liberal Protestantism before Harnack. He did not like Scholastic Theology [2]. The ethical interpretation is anti-dogmatic. Dogmas are merely opinions, fix and static, sometimes factual and sometimes illusory. Through ethical interpretation, dogmas become directives to good behavior. Muslim mystics did the same by making God himself a norm of good actions and His Attributes human values to be assimilated and practiced. Islam itself without mystical interpretation is an ethical religion far from dogma. The foundation of Islam is in Axiology not in Theology. Joachim expressed the spirit of the Culture which infiltrated from the southern shore of the Mediterranean to the northern one.

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(1) Douie., p. 27, Fournier, P. 6.
(2) Fournier, .12.

8. The Ideal of Poverty: In the hierarchy of values, Joachim put at the top the ideal of poverty. The true Christian, of the new era is a mystic, a monk who goes bare-footed without worrying about his material sustenance. Joachim himself realized this ideal by his conversion from a man of this world to a man of the other world, suddenly like a mystic, during his journey to the east. He converted from a voyager to a Pilgrim. He gave away almost his last garments to some poor Saracens he met [1]. After his death, two mendicant orders had been founded in his name. The ideal of poverty has been cheered and practiced by Muslim mystics. Bishr al-Hafi which means Bishr the bare-footed, made from poverty symbolized by the bare-foot, the condition of eternal life. The fakirs of India are also the followers of that ideal till it became, synonymous to mysticism itself. Joachim in the same time, revolted against luxurious Church of his time and expressed the ideal of poverty which the Muslim mystics and Islam itself propagated in southern Europe. Joachim also became a true Christian by returning to the evangelical ideal of poverty as expressed by Christ and ipso facto he was a true Muslim.

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Muslim and Christian Dialogue

For the first time, may be, a dialogue between Islam and Christianity occurs without falling in the grave error of "historicism" that is always committed by the Orientalists! Away from history with all its proper names, places, events, dates and all spatio-temporal limitations, the dialogue appears ***sub que eternitate***. Both Islam and Christianity are dealt with as two "ideal types" worthy of comparison, leading necessarily to a convergence. The dialogue is firstly orchestrated on a common foundation of humanism. Both Islam and Christianity are World Views on man, which permit a comparison between two Anthropologies rather than between two Theologies. "God or Man, that is perhaps, the key of convergences and divergences, between modernity and traditional cultures of the Christians and Muslims of the East." (p. 32).

Secondly, the dialogue aims to modernize both traditions to one focal point. The sub-title is relevant: "religious dialogue and the challenge of modernity". That means "The problems which come in the first place of preoccupations of the Arab World and constitute its urgencies are not the classical problems of Theologies but the questions of development, of social justice, of literacy, of cultural identity, of acculturation and of cultural mutation." (p. 9) The cultural context

(*) Book Review of Paul Khoury's "Islam et Christianisme, dialogue religieux et défi de la modernite," Beirut, 1973. It his been juded very critical.

(ch. 1) is done by the description of the modernity (p. 15-35). However, transposition becomes a semantic problem. The activity in history through man can be easily named: God, Christ, Bouddha, matter ...etc. "If this presence can be called Christ, the significance Christ becomes a religious universal for which it is possible to find the equivalencies and the correspondences in Islam." (p.12) Also, modernism is sometimes converted to anti-modernism when scientism, secularism and critique are rejected as three different aspects of modernity (p. 15- 20).

Thirdly, faith has been connected to politics, religion to revolution which indicates that philosophy of action is a possible ground for both traditions to converge (136-51). "The criterion of the religious faith becomes the faith in man and the criterion of the living and active faith of the religious practice becomes the political practice" (p. 12). The Church is the World, this slogan of Vatican II has been well implemented. "There is no Church today which does not look to promote justice, liberty, peace, synthesis-values where all the aspirations of men converge, which does not commit itself in the struggle against alienation, exploitation, racialism, disguised forms of colonialism and imperialism, repression and domination. To help the development of peoples appears as the actual form of evangelization, of the mission, of the pastoral and almost of liturgy" (p. 8-9).

However, in spite of these major advantages, the essay still has its limitations which may be described as follows:

1. A confusion still persists (ch. 1. cultural context) between two levels of analysis concerning Islam, between Islam ***per se*** and Islam as a culture, history, land, people ...etc. Although there is a big effort to put historicism aside, historicism infiltrated. Christianity is identified with the West and the history of Western Culture; Islam is confused with the East, the Muslims, the Arabs and with society. Even with Islamic Culture, Islam cannot be identified. The problem of industrial society and the problems of developing society are not revelant data to a religious dialogue. Every society lives its time, the Western in the twentieth century, the Islamic in the fourteenth. Cultural

Anthropology is not synonymous to religious dialogue. Consummation, abundance and technology on one hand, literacy, poverty and social justice on the other hand are not religious problems for which Christianity and Islam ***per se*** are responsible (p. 13-44). The dialogue, between East and West is not synonymous to a religious dialogue, between Islam and Christianity either. Even the spirit of culture, although it may be a result of religious factor is not identical to religion ***per se***. "The East sees it played on the level of ends, the West reduces it to the level of means. One becomes important, the other senseless" (p. 35). Acculturation is a cultural phenomenon in modern Islamic thought, from impact, to seduction, to resistance (p. 36-40), but it is a data for cultural Anthropology rather than for religious dialogue, and also similar data regarding the cultural mutation. "The Arab World is taken in a process of mutation in three times: rejection of Fringes of traditional system, increased courage extended to parties more sensible, to the taboos of the system, and finally putting in question the basis itself of the system, namely of religion which is truly the substance of the culture, because it is the deposit of the most cheerful values" (p.43). Even so, there is a certain imbalance in the historical data. Eastern Christianism is rarely mentioned, which is already a crystallization of a Christianity with an "Arab" form, if the dialogue have to conclude that Islam is an Arab form of Christianity. History of Islamic culture disappears in front of the dominant history of the West.

The positive aspects of historicism have not been used. History can shed light on the formation of Christianity, dogma and law, rituals and institutions, without falling in the genesis or the reductionist fallacies. History in the case of Christian tradition may very well help in understanding Islamic reservations on some aspects of Christian dogma like: divinity of Christ, authenticity of the Scriptures, authority of the Church, origin of Monasticism and Celibacy... etc. Modern historical criticism and the Patristics may very well shed light on the historical facts which Islam has in mind referring to Christianism. The three characteristics of the Western Christianism: legalism, centralism

of power and the missionary push (p. 20-23), can be easily understood in the context of Western history. Legalism is a residual of religion after losing for the benefit of modern science and secular practice. Centralization of power is another residual of Imperial Rome. The missionary push is a third residual of the permanent Western expansion on all levels. As a reaction to the old traditions mostly religious, "The fact of life, the reduction to desire, the definitions of the humans as society and work, the democratic liberty according to the bourgeois criterion, the social justice according to the worker criterion, science and technique as style of life, all this is reason at work, namely man in the process of having his own domain". (p. 31)

2. In dealing with the dialogue itself (ch. 11, Religious dialogue) three errors have been justly rejected: missionary attitude, polemic and apologetic (p. 51-8). The object, the method and the purpose of religious dialogue are described as follows: "In this case, the object of religious dialogue will be religion, considered in its role and its significance, which leads to the second object, the other aspects of life, and culture. The purpose of dialogue will be the promotion of faith, namely the concrete commitment to the affectation of man in his plenitude" (p. 64). The dialogue here occurs between living entities rather than between concepts. The dialogue is a dialectic having three characteristics: pluralism, exchange and genesis of authenticity, which occurs between communities. The themes of dialogue are divided in "three groups of elements according to the aspect of life to which every group corresponds: believers try to respond to the needs of knowledge, percepts and rituals governing the exemplary action, institutions organize the social life" (p. 64). What about the question of truth even if it leads to the confrontation of the two traditions? The salvation may be an illusion if it is not a true salvation. A dialogue is not a compromise on truth, every tradition have to yield to the other somehow in order that both may live in dialogue. Clear awareness of the divergences between two traditions is more respectable, more productive and more promising in the future than a compromise which may be rejected by both. For example. "Christian Theology sees many forms and grades

of prophecy. It becomes possible to put Mohammed in this table as a negative prophet or directive or ethnic since he says that he had been sent to the Arabs to transmit to them the revealed direction and being for them the witness of the judgment" (p. 125). Therefore, "Islam which witnesses the judgment and venerates Jesus and Mary his mother always virgin will be for the Christians a Marial sommation ecumenical and eschatological." (p. 125-6). It is very easy to make a compromise once the dialectician chooses from the other tradition a doctrinal system which makes his compromise much easier. The Ash'arite Theology is very easy to reconcile with Christian Theology. Both prefer anthropomorphism to transcendence, both prefer Grace to free will. What about the Mutazilite Theology which prevail Transcendence, Free Will and Reason? (p. 325. p. 92-5). It is very risky to make dialogue between religious systems (ch. 111) because which one will have to represent the tradition? The opposite views of the two traditions are not those which have been mentioned : God Father and God Master, Christ God and Christ Prophet, Church and Umma, Metanoia and Tawba, Charity and Abandon (p. 111-16), but others more crucial like: Symbol and Reality, Tradition and Scripture, Sin and Innocence, Mystery and Reason ...etc. Sometimes the compromise is done at the detriment of Islam. Christ is not God (Allah) and God cannot be put on the same level of Christ even in the Christian dogma (p. 9). The Qur'an is not Christ of Islam and Christ is not the Qur'an of Christianity. The Qur'an is not worshiped in Islam and no body doubts its literal revelation or says that it is not divine but only revealed. Abrogation in Islam is not a historical development of dogma but a substitution of an easy law by another more tide or vice versa, a substitution of a tide law by another much easier, which show the flexibility, the naturalism and the realism of Islamic Law. The *Zimmis* in Islam are not second class citizens but they have the same rights and the same duties of the Muslims.

3. The dialogue ends with a well knows theme inaugurated by Massignon and followed by most of the Roman Catholics like Moubarak, Hayek, Gardet and others. "In the eyes of Massignon, the distinction

of the the Abrahamic Monotheisms is that, the hope nourishes the Jewish Soul; The Christian Spirit is a spirit of Charity; The Muslims live in faith" (p. 128). Mary and Fatima are figures of the ***Fiat*** (p. 128). "The Qur'anic revelation appears as the adaptation of the Bible to the sons of Ismael, to the excluded from the promise, but which however receive a part of the Benediction. The Our'an becomes a sort of a Biblical marginal text and Mohammed a negative Prophet suscitating the fearful waiting of the judgment" (p. 128). The Massingnon line makes only from al-Hallaj a new prophet of Islam and from the mystical experience a witness of the Crucifiction of Christ"... al-Hallaj, his absolute hope: The Christ incarnation of the Verb of God where the mystical experience will be imitation of Christ. The experience of al-Hallaj as an experience truly mystical of a Muslim living and meditating the World of God consigned in the Qur'an shows that the Christians have not to struggle nor to reject Islam since Islam, lived in plenitude. provokes the transfiguration of the Muslims according to the image of Christ" (p. 129-30). Therefore, the compromise ended by making from Islam a simple form of Christianity!



Hegel's Aesthetics

Art and Thought combined together lead us directly to Aesthetics as thought of art or theory of beauty. Art and Thought in nineteen century lead us directly to Hegel as the most rigorous theoretician of Romanticism after the first attempts of the Precursors: Lessing, Shiller, Solger and Schlegel. But Hegel would protest and ask: What about Religion? Art is the thesis, thought or philosophy, as he would like to call, is the synthesis. What about the antithesis without which the synthesis would he impossible? Religion is the antithesis of art and philosophy is the synthesis of art and religion. Hegel's Aesthetics dew with three terms rather than two. It is the process of unity between art and religion and philosophy. Aesthetics involve the three values together, beauty of art, goodness of religion and truth of philosophy. The three are different manifestations of the Absolute.

A theoretical exposition of Hegel's Aesthetics would be a good scholarly endeavor but it will be against Hegel himself who conceived Aesthetics as a process from symbolic art to romantic art passing by classical art. In romantic art, the Absolute has been realized and nothing after can be done. In religion, the Absolute has been realized in Christianity. In philosophy. the Absolute has been realized in the absolute realism. In history, it has been realized in the German Empire

(*) Read in a symposium on "Art and Thought in the nineteenth century", at history of art department, temple university, Philadelphia. PA., spring 1972.

and sofort. In nineteen century and in Hegel's mind, Truth is accomplished and history stopped. But what about us, generations of the twentieth? How can we be involved in history? How can our Aesthetics have a place in Hegel's Aesthetics? Usually we reject the nineteen century's great systems as great edifices constructed on the ground but in the same time cover the ground and make it unseen. These great systems are no more than castles in Spain. It mask reality and diffuse the individuals in the general. We revolted against it by our feelings of the concert, the particular and the human existence, precarious and fragile. But similarly, Hegel would reject our Aesthetics, our Ideal, our life and our philosophy. He would accuse us by a complete aberration in all human activities and above all by a dislocation of our arts. He could present for us his Aesthetics again as a guidance in our loss. Hegel refuted in advance our modern Aesthetics and our theories in art which were in fact a simple justification of our aberrations. I will try to give some examples from our modern art which Hegel may reject and to illustrate Hegel's Aesthetics by negation and in a pragmatic way. We are in America.

I. Rejection of Formalism.

1. Hegel rejects two trends in art: Abstract art and empirical art. Abstract art deals with pure forms without any content. The artist thinks his work and deduces the beautiful from previous postulates. Hier, we are in front of a deductive work of art from rational principals which determine in advance his structure and the nature of his beauty. The work of art represents the external shape of things [(1)]. In painting, Cubism determines things by the three dimensions which give the form. In theatre, Sartre makes from the dramatic situations intellectual ones and substitutes to the real conflict abstract discussions on freedom, existence, death and history. In modern art, symbols prevail on realities although symbolic art by Hegel represents a very

(1) Hegel: Philo. of fine Arts.. Trans, F.O.B. Osmaston, London, G. Bett and sons Ltd, 1920 Vol. I, p. 27.

primitive stage which have to be annihilated and conserved (Aufheben) in the classical art as its synthesis; and both will be finally accomplished in the romantic art as the synthesis. The abstract art is a return back to the primitive art, the abstract idea without any determinations which joins in the same time the ***hic*** and ***nunc***, the sensible thing. The primitive artist sees a cow and paints this cow in its abstract form on the wall. In music, we find in Debussy and Ravel this return back to the primitive rhythms as if our art was to begin the cycle again beginning by the symbolic art.

2. Although form prevails, proportion is destroyed. We can classify our modern art under the category of art of disproportion, disproportion of lines in painting, disproportion in architecture in modern churches, disproportion of sculpture in modem statues. In music, disproportion appears in dissonance and the use of dissonant accords and dissonant tonalities. Hegel's Aesthetics, with that of Plato and Leibniz, are still Aesthetics of harmony and proportion. Without falling in a mathematical symmetry, cold and dead, proportion could express the external life represented by the Pyramids of Egypt or the temples in Greece [(1)].

3. Hegel Aesthetics are based on continuity rather than on discontinuity. The melody in Music expresses this internal duration of all the subject and the moving life of the consciousness. In our modern music, the melody is broken and the continuous movement becomes discontinuous, as if there was no more internal life. The string instruments are used in rhythm and left its primary role in expressing the continuity. The Crecendo becomes Spicatto. The auditors have to project from their subjectivities life and to fill the spaces between the points. The sacre of printemps of Stravinsky is an example. In painting, the continuous points and natural line became a gathering of discontinuous points and the unity of the line is expressed by the plurality of points. Mattise could give us a good example. In sculpture, the corners and the angles prevail on the rounds and the curves. As if the creative

(1) Vol., III, p 7819.

impulse Is no more there, the artist is obliged to change his direction and to begin again. In dance and ballet, the movement in wave became also stop cornered movement. The continuous movement became a sudden and brusque transition from a position to another. In theatre, the natural situation and the natural development of drama were changed to a sudden and brusque turning round and volte-face like in Sartre's theatre or leaving completely dramatic line without finishing it and beginning another line in as Sartre's Novels.

4. According to Hegel's Aesthetics. arts are classified according to senses. There is the visual arts and the acoustic arts. The first are arts in space, the second are arts in time. This classification involves an evaluation. The acoustic arts are higher than the visual arts, the sound is more bound to the soul and to the internal life than the figure or the color. That is why music and poetry combined together in the opera are higher than architecture, sculpture and painting [1]. That is why the Germans, Musikvolk are aesthetically higher, than the French ***Peuple de peinture***. In our modern Aesthetics things have been changed. It became even the absolute opposite. In music, description prevails on expression. Debussy in La Mere paints rather than expresses as if arts of time have been converted to arts of space. Probably our modern auditors go to concerts to see the orchestra rather than to hear it. In modern Novel by Rob-Grillet or Nathalie Sarrault, time is converted to space and the personage was moving in space rather than in time. In cinema time is completely disturbed. Sometime time is completely diluted to an extend that it joined space like in "***Cleo de 5 A sept***". Sometimes the direction of time is reversed in the new techniques of flash backs. Progress which characterizes time became regression.

5. Hegel in his Aesthetics wanted to create an objective art as an absolute expression of subjectivity. The unity of the Subject and the object is the Truth itself accomplished. The romantic art is the unity between the object which is the symbolic art and the subject, but the formal one, in the classical art. In romantic arts, the Opera is

(1) Vol. III. p. 361-79 Proust in La recherch du temps perdu would agree.

the unity between the subject which is music and the object which is theatre. In the objectivity of art Hegel could conserve also universality. Objectivity heir does not mean any kind of naturalism, empiricism or secularism but the objectivation of life and the exteriorization of the internal content. Our modern art preferring modesty left objectivity as an impossibility or a pretension and enclosed itself in the subjectivity, but the abstract one. The taste depends on our relative feelings and our projections on the art-work. The art-work has nothing beautiful in itself but it is a simple recipient of our projections. The absence, of a human agreement on beauty and the absence, even of any objective aesthetical judgment, indicates the absence of beauty itself. If a spectator in front of an art-work asks what does that mean, this art-work would be void of art even if it had a meaning which could be explained by the artist or by the critic. Sometimes the art-work is the creation of pure imagination as it is the case in the science-fiction art. Sartre could give in his limagination and limaginaire the type of modern Aesthetics in which imagination prevails on Reality.

6. Hegel's Aesthetics, based on dissociation and unification, on annihilation and conservation, two aspects of the dialectic passage, aimed to create an absolute and capable of expressing the Idea [(1)]. To realize this aim, Hegel wanted to unify the arts in one absolute art. This unification is done inside the romantic art which is itself a unification of the symbolic art and the classical art. Is it possible to unify the three romantic arts: Painting. music and poetry? Yes. the Opera is the absolute art. Painting is present in décor, music in song and poetry in drama. Hegel preconceived what Wagner will do later. In our modern art this aim is abandoned and even more, every art is divided into small arts. In some modem art-works there are some remains of unit, practical and external like the symphonic poems of Strauss or the Opera-Ballets of Stravinsky.

7. Hegel's Aesthetics are indeed an aspect of Hegel's System. Aesthetics are a stage in the development of Mind and of religion as

(1) Vol. I, p. 129.

it appeared in the aesthetic religion. Aesthetics are bound to religion, Aesthetics would be essentially a passage to religion (1). But religion according to Hegel is not a determined realm but is equal to Truth and Truth is equal to Reality. Hegel says: Every Ideal is Real and Every Real is Ideal. The highest object of art consist in its revelation of Truth itself (2). The romantic art is an absolute act because it is a militant art. It express the Truth of the Soul and the struggle of humanity for its salvation. The romantic art could express the realities of love, of honor and of fidelity. Examples: Poems of Schiller and Goethe, Symphonies of Beethoven. The absolute art expresses the absolute Idea in art which is the spirit of chivalry. Our modem art goes in another direction. Art has nothing to do with an absolute Spirit, Truth or Idea. Art is art. Art can be immoral and irreligious. Art can be anti-life introducing ***la mort dans l'âme*** as Sartre would say. And even more. art is enslaved to non-truth. Art became a mean to any other aim rather than itself. Art sometimes became identic to propaganda. Sometimes art goes around human values and becomes inhuman.

II. Regectionof Emipricism.

Hegel's Aesthetics are also against a second trend in our modern Aesthetics which can be called the experimental art or the empiricist art. It is a formless art which makes from the simple data an art-work. The data does not make neither an idea nor an idea of beauty. A simple empiricist taste does not make an aesthetic judgment (3). Hegel rejects all kinds of embodiment from art. The symbolic art is the first step in the realization of the idea of beauty because it is still more material than spiritual. The romantic art can be dissolved if it is dominated by naturalism. Transposing this rejection to our modern art Hegel would reject:

1. All kinds of electronic music in which the electronic cycles are transformed to waves of sounds by the nature of the materia.

(1) Vol. I, p. 125, p. 139-44.
(2) Ibid., p. 76-77.
(3) Vol. I, p. 26-8.

2. All kinds of poems in which simple letters are substituted to the poetic élan.

3. All kinds of painting in which the simple juxtaposition of colors by itself makes the value of the art-work.

4. All kinds of sculpture in which a simple collection of scrapiron or the shape of an accident makes already an art-work.

5. All kinds of industrial art in which art is the production of a simple industry and in which the machine is a good and even the most perfect mean than the artist. Technique is not art exactly as a talent is not a genius.

Hegel's Aesthetics reject also putting the art-work on the sensation level which is not the first manifestation of life, the life of senses but the life of spirit. Hegel would be against all kinds of impressionism because a simple impression does not make an idea. Hegel would be also against all kinds of excitation in art. Any art-work which orients itself towards excitation is not an art-work but a simple stimulus of senses, even if it gives a certain kind of pleasure being a temporary one. It is the art of the tired and exhausted who wants after a long day of imposed work relax and forget. Art according to Hegel expresses life and put us in life, not outside it.

To conclude, Hegel's Aesthetics and modern Aesthetics are completely opposite. Each one represents a moment in the European Consciousness. Hegel's Aesthetics represent the perfection, the Ideal and the Absolute. It declare the triumph of the human spirit and the accomplishment of the Truth. It was the time of Goethe, Beethoven and David. Napoleon was on his white horse in lena declaring the coming of the kingdom of Heavens on Earth, the Universal Republic. Our modern Aesthetics express our anguish, our anxiety and our loss. Philosophy of our time, on the opposite of Hegel, declares that it is the end. Spengler cries: the decline of the West. Husserl proves the accomplishment of the European Consciousness. Nietzsche declares: absolute Nihilism. Scheler warns: the reversal of values.

Bergson is afraid from this world to become a machine fabricating Divinities. All of them ascertain the loss of life, the absence of impulse and even the absence of the ***raison d'être*** of existence. The birth of tragedy leads to the end of tragedy. But the symbolic art under which Hegel characterizes the aesthetics of ancient eastern nations is blooming now. The successor of the European romantic art motivated struggle for a new life. The Afro-Asian people and the Third World Nations by the impulse of liberation live now their romantic art. The revolutionary poetry of the new nations is the only modern example in our time of romantic art and of Hegel's Aesthetics [1].



(1) The Qur'anic theory of art resembles greatly that of Hegel. The Qur'an is the culmination of poetry and music. The Qur'an is also directed to the feelings, that means in time and also represents the Idea. Hegel has been able then to express an Islamic idea by his own effort. In that way, a cultural dialogue between the European culture and the Islamic culture is possible.

Theology of Land

An Islamic Approach

1. Introduction: Theology and Hermeneutics.

Every theology is an expression of its own hermeneutics, using the vocabulary of the time and motivated by the needs and goals of the community, whether these needs and goals are objective or mere human passions, whether they are ideals and values or expressions of pure egoism. Hermeneutics is often a reading back of a community's holy Scripture, projecting into it the needs and goals on which it is based as if there were no independent meanings for the revealed texts. Indeed, the history of theology is a history of these projections of human passions into the holy Scripture. It shows how humans, represented by theologians hang their needs and goals on the texts. Is not the internal and independent meaning a mystery which supersedes every human and rational effort to catch it ?

Some holy Scripture, e.g., the Bible, have been originated, developed and canonized according to a certain hermeneutics chosen consciously or unconsciously by the writers, the so called "holy scribes", the narrators or by the Synagogue or the Church. All of them, writers, narrators, canonizers, theologians and commentators see in the Scripture

(*) A paper given in front of the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches of Christ. New York, 1972.

what they want to see. There is no objective truth or independent meaning separated from human passions. It is a kind of hermeneutics based on Narcissism. Bergson called this psychological process "*le mouvement retrograde du vrai*", the projection of the present into the past. By this process Jesus became a feminist, a socialist, a capitalist, a white, a black ...etc.

Theology of Land is another actual manifestation of this projective, subjective and Narcissist hermeneutics. Because of the importance of land in our modern times, for the oppressed as well as for the oppressors, theologians of both sides could see in their respective Scriptures a "Theology of Land." Theology serves here as a part of an ideology of liberation for the oppressed or as a Justification of colonialism for the oppressors. But a theology of land conceived by the oppressors is indeed a justification of domination, although it is called "Theology of Liberation" in the Third World, especially in Latin America. Camillo Torres is an example. "Theology of Land" may be then a religious justification of "Occupation of Land." Armies begin, theologians follow.

However, a reading back of any holy Scripture is possible if it does not distort the original and independent meaning of the text, especially if the text is from the beginning exempt of every interference of human passions, in writing, in narration or in canonization. A reading back is possible if an exegete can find the conformity between the original and independent meaning of the text with the objective, realities, which are always universal human values. In this case. hermeneutics can he objective, capable of reading an objective truth, which is one in every time and space. An exegete doesn't justify. He takes realities in one hand and Scripture in the other. Both are never partial, on the condition that he has the whole realities and an authentic Scripture.

2. Theology of Land in classical Though.

Theology of land, in the modern sense, is a new topic in Islam. It has no precedent in classical theology or philosophy, even in mysticism.

Theology was essentially Theology of Unity which continued to define the traditional monotheism freed from any kind of anthromorphism. God is defined as pure Essence having absolute attributes, completely transcendent and perfect. God is correlative to human freedom (Grace and Providence), to nature (creation), and to society (democracy). The foundation of a free, equal and democratic society is a divine imperative: "Do good and prevent evil."

Secondly, philosophy emphasizes an Absolute Being per se in opposition to contingent nature ***per aliud***, against the Greek concept of eternity of nature or of a "prime matter." Thirdly, mysticism was essentially a withdrawal from the material world which was a reaction against the mundane life to a spiritual one, by the force of love, to be unified with God. Only in jurisprudence does land appear as an object of administration, division, production or even war. Land was an object of legislation without any ontology of land.

We have to ask then: Why was there no Theology of Land, Philosophy of Land, Mysticism or Romanticism of Land or Ontology of land in classical times? Obviously, Land created no problem. Land was there. With the expansion of Islam, which means liberation of all communities from all kinds of oppression, Persian in the East, Roman in the West, Land extends. When the thing is there, it creates no problem. It becomes a problem when it is not there, as if the existence inside the human mind is a compensation for the loss of existence outside, Things existing in rei do not exist in ratio, things existing in ratio do not exist in rei. But things have changed in our modern times. Land became a problem and a great one. Land has become the most important problem of our times, in the last century and even before. Land was lost, during imperialist movement of the European hegemony. Then a Theology of Land began in the Reformist movement of the last century, especially by al-Afgani (1839-1397). Mohammed Abdou (1849-1905). al-Kawakibi (1854-1902), Iqbal (1873-1938) and others.

This Theology of Land is conceived as Theology of Liberation which expresses the theology of the twentieth century, a century of

liberation movements in the Third World where Moslem lands exist. Monotheism took again the original meaning, liberation of humanity from all kinds of oppression whether from nature or from man. The first expression of faith in Islam begins with a negation: "I don't believe in any other deities except the Only God." Deities change from time to time. They are the wrong ideals of any community. Any overwhelming power is a deity. Colonialism. Imperialism, Feudalism, Capitalism, all overwhelming powers to be rejected as deities of our time.

I. Earth.

1. Possession of God. The term "Land" (Ard) is repeated in the Qur'an 462 times, 454 times as substantive and 8 times only are connected with possessive pronouns. This simple enumeration gives us a first statement :Land is not an object of possession. Land is there, in the category of Being not of Having. In this sense, Land is the Earth, the whole land [1]. Land is a category completely independent of human existence. Land is an objective truth outside any subjectivity. No body, no community can pretend that he owns the Land. Nobody can claim that the Land is his. As if the Qur'an says twelve centuries earlier what Rousseau or Prudhom later said: The first man who put his hand on a land and said: This is mine, is the first thief!

In the 8 times, Land is used connected with possessive pronouns. The only occurrence with a first person singular pronoun (My Land) is relative to God. God is the only owner of the Land. He is the Only One Who can attribute the Land to Himself. Land belongs to nobody except to God. Land is Earth, wide and spacious, enough for all humans to worship God [2].

In the Bible this idea of eminent ownership is not repeated often [3]. But Earth or Land is always annexed to God's action of giving,

(1) The same term exists in the OT, ***Adama*** or ***Erets*** which means: Earth, land, ground, soil..

(2) "My servants who believe! Truly, spacious is thy earth: Therefore serve ye Me (And Me alone)!" 29:56.

(3) The only clear attribution of the Land to God is "They shall not dwell in the Lord's land" Hos. 9:3.

dwelling, bringing ...etc, according to the Hebrew custom of attributing everything on earth to God by analogy of greatness and by describing by the First Cause. This usage does not mean that God literally gives or brings but that the tribes themselves go and dwell.

This meaning is confirmed by the other uses of the term as substantive. In 60 of the 454 instances the term is used in connection with God to assert the same meaning, that Land is possessed by God, and that God is the only owner of the Land [1]. He is also the owner of all that is on the Land, things and humans [2]. This eminent ownership is so clear and evident that it does not even need any affirmative statement except by irony and sarcasm, in interrogative or exclamatory modes [3]. Heaven and Earth are the kingdom and treasure of God [4]. It is an implication of monotheism to refer everything in heaven and on earth to the One God and the Only One without any kind of association [5]. To him only we address our worship [6]. His eminent ownership is a result of His Absolute Attributes: Omniscience [7],

(1) "Knowest thou not that to God belongeth the domination (possession, *Mulk*) of the Heavens and the Earth?" 2:17. 3:109. 5:40. 5:120. 7:158. 9:116, 24:42, 25:2, 39:44, 45:27, 57:2, 57:5, 85:9.

(2) "To Him (Good) belong all that is in the Heavens and on Earth" 2:107, 2:284, 3:109, 3:129, 4:126, 4:131, 4:132, 4:170, 16:52, 22:6S, 31:26, 34:1, 42:4, 42:53, 53:31. "His are all things in Heavens and on Earth" 2:255, 10:68. "Is it not that to God belongeth whatever is in the Heavens and on Earth?" 10:55, 24:14. "Behold! verily to God belong all creatures, in the Heavens and on Earth" 10:66, 21:19, 30:26. "To Him belongs what is in the Heavens and on Earth, and all between them, and all beneath the soil" 20:6 42.85.

(3) "Say: To whom belong the Earth and all beings therein? (say) if you know!" 23:84.

(4) "Do they see nothing in the Kingdom of the Heavens and Earth and all that God hath created?" 7:185. "But to God belong the treasures of the Heavens and the Earth" 63:7.

(5) "They say: God has begotten a son: Glory to him. Nay, to Him belongs all that in the Heavens and on Earth" 2:116.

(6) "To Him belongs ... All are devoutly obedient to Him" 30:26.

(7) "No slumber can seize Him, nor sleep. His are all things..." 2:255. "To God do belong the unseen of the Heavens and the Earth" 11;123, 16:77, 18:26, 25:6, 35:38, 49:18. "I know the secrets of Heaven and Earth" 2:33. "Well doth He know what you are intent upon" 24:64. "From God, verily nothing is hidden on Earth or in the Heavens" 3:5. "He knoweth what ye hide, and what ye reveal" 6:3. "And it is your Lord that knoweth best all beings that are in the Heavens and on Earth" 17:5S. "My Lord knoweth word in the Heavens and on Earth" 21:4. "Knowest thou not that God knows all that is in Heavens=

Omnipotence [1], and Eternal Life [2]. Everything comes from Him and every thing returns to Him [3]. Eminent ownership is not only a divine right or a theological idea but it is essentially a real description of human destiny. Man is born on Earth and he dies on Earth. He comes on Earth and he leaves Earth. The Earth was before him and it remains after him. Man and Earth have two different destinies. Man cannot possess the Earth. He comes with nothing and he leaves with nothing. All he may own is his deeds, his good deeds for which he is responsible. That makes his true happiness. That is why Earth and all that is on Earth is pure appearances, not an ultimate reality. It is a pure decoration for life but not the essence of life [4].

= and on Earth?" 22:70. "He knows what is in the Heaven and on Earth" 29:52, 49:16, 64:4. "God doth know all that is in the Heavens and on Earth" 58.7. "There is not a grain in darkness of the Earth or anything fresh or dry but is in a record clear" 6:59. "Nor is hidden from thy Lord the weight of an atom on the Earth or in Heaven" 10:61. "For nothing whatever is hidden from God, whether on Earth or in Heaven" 14.38. "God who brings to light what is hidden in the Heavens and the Earth" 27:25. "Nor is there aught of the unseen in Heaven or Earth but is in a clear, record" 27.75. "He knows all that goes into the Earth and all that comes out thereof'" 34.2. "By Him who knows the unseen, from whom is not hidden the last little atom in the Heavens or on Earth" 34:3. "He knows what enters within the Earth and what comes forth out of it" 57:4.

(1) "And God bath power over all things" 3:189, 5:120. "To Him belong the keys of the Heavens and the Earth" 39:63. "For to God belong the forces of the Heavens and the Earth" 48:4. 48:7.

(2) "Unto God belongeth... He giveth life and he taken it" 9:116.

(3) "To God belongs... To Him do all questions go back" 3:109, 57:5. "And to Him is the final goal" 5:18.

(4) "The likness of the life of the present is as the rain which we send down from the skies. But its mingling raises the produce of the Earth which provides food for men and animals, (it grows) till the earth is clad with its golden ornaments and is decked out (in beauty). The people to whom it belongs they have all powers or disposal over it. There reaches it our command by night or by day, and we mile it like a harvest clean mown, as if it had flour-shed only the day before!" 10:24. 'That which on Earth we have made but as a glittering show for the Earth in order that we may test them, as to which of theft are best in conduct" 18:7. "(Iblis) said:. O my Lord! because thou has put me in the wrong. I wilt make (wrong) fair-seeming to them on the Earth and 1 will put them all in the wrong" 15:39.

2. Inheritance of God. God is the only true heir of Land [1]. His inheritance is a natural consequence of His possession. This eminent and divine inheritance is also a real analysis of human destiny on earth. Man can only inherit good deeds and be responsible for them. He can also give his good deeds as heritage to his successors in order that they may continue the example. Man dies and leaves everything on earth. What he was responsible for in his life belongs to the community and for the benefit of the community. His blood-successors have to begin their lives by their own efforts. Just as man cannot possess or be possessed, so he cannot inherit or be inherited. God is the only possessor and the only inheritor.

In the OT, the ownership of the Land and its inheritance are mentioned many times. But the usages do not mean material inheritance, but rather dwelling on the Land. The Hebrews were tribes wandering from place to place and from one land to another. They came to the land of the Canaanites or of the Chaldeans or of Egypt ...etc, which means the land where the Canaanites or the Chaldeans were dwelling. The land of Israel, mentioned many, times, means the land where the tribe of Israel was dwelling. To the Bedouin mind, the ownership of the land means dwelling on it. It was a way of expression rather than a real inheritance. Also, the inheritance of the Land is described as well as the withdrawal from the Land [2].

3. Creation of God. Land is created [3]. Creation is not a simple dogma which asserts the divine power, but it unveils an aspect of the human structure. Land is not an ultimate reality because it came from

(1) "It is we who will inherit the Earth and all beings thereon" 19:40. "For to God belongs the heritage of the Heavens and the Earth" 3:80, 57:10.

(2) Deut. 28:63, 29:28. Kin. 14:1S. Jer. 12:14.

(3) "A revelation from Him who created the Earth and the Heavens 20:4. "Praise be to God who created the Heavens and the Earth" 6:1. "See they not that God who created the Heavens and the Earth has power to create the likes of them?" 17:99. "It is He who created the Heavens and the Earth" 6:73. "If indeed your ask them who it is that created the Heavens and the Earth, they would be sure to say 'God' " 39:38.

nothing and will return to nothing [1]. Land exists only in time [2]. It has a kind of temporal existence larger than that of the human. Besides, the creation of the Land is a sign of the power of God [3]. This land with its high mountains, large oceans and wide spaces is the work of God exempt from any human weaknesses [4]. Even the miracles, when it existed, or the natural laws occur by God's power, never by themselves [5]. Everything on Earth is subject to His Will. The Land itself is obedient to God [6]. Everything on Earth surrenders to Him and submits to His Will [7]. It is the place of His Providence [8]. Thus God possesses and inherits what He creates, the Earth. Man possess and inherits what he owns, the deed.

4. Obedience to God. Land's obedience to God is a worship to Him[9]. It blesses God and praises Him. All that Earth is then oriented

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(1) "To Him is due the primal origin of the Heavens and the Earth. When He decreeth a matter, He said to it: 'Be and it is'" 2:117. "He said: Nay, your Lord is the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, He who created them (from nothing)" 12:56.

(2) "Your Guardian-Lord is God, who created the Heavens and then Earth in six days ..." 7:54. "Verily your Lord is God who created the Heavens and the Earth in six days" 10:3. "He it is who "He created the Heavens and the Earth in six days" 11:7, 57:4. He (we) who created the Heavens and the Earth and all that is between, in six days..." 25.59, 50:3S.

(3) "See they not that God, who created the Heavens and the Earth. has power to create the like of them (anew)?" 17:99. "To blasphemy indeed are those that say that God is Christ, the son of Mary, say: 'Who then the last power against God, if His will were to destroy Christ, the son of Mary, his mother and all everyone that is on the Earth?" 5: 19. "Not on Earth nor in Heaven will be able to frustrate" 29:22.

(4) "See they not that God, who created the Heaven and Earth, and never wearies with their creation, is able to give life to the dead? Yea, verily He has power over all things" 46:33.

(5) "It was our power that made the violent wind flew for Solomon" 21:81.

(6) "He said to it (sky) and to the Earth: Come ye together, willingly or unwillingly? They said: We do come (together) in willing obedience" 41:11. "Then the word went forth: O Earth! Swallow up thy water, and O sky! Withhold (the rain)! and the water abated.." 11:44.

(7) "While all creatures in the Heavens and on Earth have willingly or unwillingly bowed to His will" 3:83.

(8) "Say: Who is the Lord and sustainer of the Heavens and the Earth?" 13:16. "(Moses) said: The Lord and cherisher of the Heavens and the Earth" 26:24. "Lord of the Heavens and the Earth" 37:5, 38:66, 43:82, 44:7, 45:36, 51:23, 78:37.

(9) "The seven Heavens and the Earth and all beings therein, declare his glory. There is not a thing but celebrates His praise; And yet ye understand not how they declare My glory!" =

to its summit and even leads to it. All the is on the Earth is signs to God [1]. It is His right to be the First Cause of everything as it is the right and duty of human reason to understand the laws of nature and the secondary causes [2]. Land's obedience and submission to God is a natural consequence of its creation. For human life, submission of Land is a sign for man that land is not refractory to his will, that it can also be submitted to him and be controlled by him. Land is receptive of orders and commands, not of any kind, but from its own kind, that is from its own source.

5. The End of the Earth. But the Earth will not remain forever. It will disappear completely at the end of time [3]. There will he trembling, shaking and quaking [4]. The Earth will eject its contents: things, animals and humans [5]. It will be the day of resurrection. The

= 17:44. "Then the word went forth: O Earth swallow up thy water..." 11:44. "Whatever beings there are in the Heavens and the Earth do prostrate themselves to God..." 13:15. "Seest thou not that to God bow down in worship all things that are in the Heavens and on Earth" 22:18. "And to God doth obeisance all that is in the Heavens and on Earth" 16:49. "Not one of the beings in the Heavens and the Earth but must come to God most gracious as a servant" 19:93. "Seest thou not that it is God whose praises all beings in the Heavens and on Earth do celebrate and the kinds with wings outspread? Each one knows its own prayer and praise" 24:41. "To Him be praise, in the Heavens and on Earth" 30:18. "Whatever is in the Heavens and on Earth, let it declare the praises and glory to God" 57:1, 59:1, 59:24, 61:1, 62:1, 64:1.

(1) "And how many signs in the Heavens and Earth do they pass by?" 12:105. "And among His signs is the creation of the Heavens and the Earth" 42:29. "Verily in the Heavens and the Earth are signs for those who believe" 45:3. "On the Earth are signs for those of assured faith" 51:20. "And among his signs is this that Heaven and Earth stand by this command" 30:2S.

(2) "If there were a Qur'an with which mountains were moved or the Earth were cloven asunder or the deal were made to speak, but truly, the command is with God in all things" 13:31.

(3) "Day! When the Earth is pounded to power!" 89:21. "And the Earth is moved, and its mountains and they are crushed to powder at one stroke" 69:14.

(4) "When the Earth is shaken to her convulsion" 99:1. "When the Earth shall be shaken to its depth" 56:4.

(5) "And the Earth throws up her burdens" 99:2. "One day we shall remove the mountains and thou wilt see the Earth as a level stretch, and we shall gather them, all together, nor shall we leave out anyone of them" 18:47.

Earth will be changed to another Earth when the trumpet sounds [1]. In this days all the inhabitants of the Earth will be judged and it will be a heavy day [2]. Myths or realities? Symbols or images? What is important is that every eschatology expresses a real human structure. The feeling of the end is a real human feeling. When an aim is accomplished, then it is the end. ***Zweek*** in German or ***fin*** in French means at one and the same time both aim and end. The end of the Earth is not a final end but it leads to the final end, the Resurrection. Resurrection expresses the human hope. The End and the Resurrection of the Earth are the final term of its creation.

II. Land.

1. The Green Land (Soil). After the Earth as a divine possession, Land appears as the substratum of life: plants, animals, birds and humans. The green land is the creation of God for the welfare of mankind. The image of green color is an image of fertility and all that is positive, good and constructive in human life. Green land is a beautiful land. Beauty is a manifestation of God. The green land occurs when water calls on Earth. Life is this passage from dry to wet. Life is a process like the process of water: from up to down, when the rain falls, and from down to up, when the plant grows [3].

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(1) "One day the Earth will be changed to a different Earth" 14:45. "And the day that the trumpet will be sounded, then will be smitten with terror those who are in Heavens, and those who are on Earth" 27:87. "The trumpet will be sounded, when all that are in the Heavens and on Earth will swoon" 39:65.

(2) "Heavy were its burden through the Heavens and the Earth" 7:187.

(3) "Seest thou that God sends down rain from the sky, and forthwith the Earth becomes clothed with green?" 22:63. "In the rain which God sends down from the skies, and the life which he gives therewith to an Earth that is dead." 2:164. "And God sends down rain from the skies, and gives therewith life to Earth after its death" 16:65 "... Who it is that sends rain from the sky, and gives life therewith to the Earth after its death" 29:63 "...And He sends down rain from the sky and with it gives life to the Earth after its death" 30:24. "It is God who sends forth the winds so that they raise up the clouds and we drive them to a land that is dead, and revive the Earth therewith after its death" 35:9. "And thou seest the Earth barren and lifeless, but when we pour down rain on it, it is stirred to life, it swells..." 22:5. "And who sends you down rain from the sky, Yes, with it we cause to grow well planted orchards full of beauty and delight" 27:60. "...God sends sustenance=

By water and earth, we can have a third element: plant. Any new production is impossible without the conjunction of these two elements [1]. The action of giving is assigned as God's action [2]. The mixture between water and earth is done according to a certain measure, more water or less water. Sandy land or rocky land doesn't make any plants [3]. Water itself can be produced by the Land. Although it comes from above it may also come from beneath, from the underground [4].

Production by the Land is indeed an image of creativity in human life [5]. All these images of the green land are in fact some examples from human life. Nothing new occurs without two elements. Life is founded on this duality the complex life, the opposition between right and wrong ...etc [6]. Life is there by the force of contraries. A thing is created from its contrary: life from death and death from life [7]. Earth itself is composed of two contraries: Land and sea, mountains

= from the sky and revives therewith the Earth after its death" 45:5. "Thou seek the Earth barren and desolate. But when we send down rain to it, it is stirred to life and yields increase" 41.39.

(1) "A sign for them is the Earth that is dead. We do give it life. and product again..." 36:33. "... We do drive rain to parched soil and produce therewith crops..." 32:27. "... God sends down rain from the sky, and leads, it through springs in the Earth. Then the causes to grow, therewith, produce of various colours; then it withers; thou will see it grow yellow..." 39:21.

(2) "How He (God) gives life to the Earth after its death" 30:17. 30:50, 57:17.

(3) "And we send down water from the sky according to measure and we cause it to soak in the soil" 23:18.

(4) "And we caused the Earth to gush forth with springs" 54.12. "And by the Earth which opens out" (for the gushing of springs or the sprouting of vegetation) 86:12.

(5) "The likness of the life of the present is as the rain which we send down..." 10:24. "Set forth to them the similitude of the life of this world. It is like rain..."18:45.

(6) "Glory to God who created in pairs all things that the Earth produce, as well as their own (human) kind and (other) things of which they have no knowledge" 36:36. "We send down rain from the sky, and produce on the Earth every kind of noble creature, in pairs 31:10. "... Of every kind he made in pairs, two and two" 13:3. "... And produced therein every kind of beautiful growth in pairs" 50:7. "Do they not look at the Earth, how many noble things of all kinds in pairs we have produced therein" 26:7.

(7) "It is He who brings out the living from the dead and brings out the dead from the living..." 30:19.

and rivers, the same images of soil and water, dry and wet [1]. Mountains represent the stability in life. Rivers represent the movement and the crossroads. If we refer to human life as the mystics would like to do, it will be an image of fertility of the heart and the results of good words [2].

The production of the Land is for humans to eat and enjoy [3]. Man is the king and master of the universe. Everything has been created for him, suitable for his life [4]. But man has no right to monopolize nourishment and prevent other from eating and enjoying [5]. The production of the land is the right of everybody. Animals and birds have the same rights as humans to eat and to enjoy [6]. Nourishment is given for all living creatures [7]. Lastly, the Earth is the last dwelling for humans and all living creatures. Man came from Earth and he returns back to Earth [8]. Human existence on Earth is limited.

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(1) "And the Earth we have spread out; set thereon mountains form and immovable" 15:19, 50:7. "And He has set up on the Earth mountains standing firm, lest it should shake with you; and rivers and roads, that you may guide Yourself" 16:15, 21:31. "Or, who has made the Earth firm to live, made rivers in its midst; set there on mountains immovable" 27:61.

(2) "And the parable of an evil word is that of an evil tree. It is torn up by the root from the surface of the Earth. It has no stability" 14:26.

(3) "O ye people! East of what is on Earth lawful and good" 2:168. "And in the Earth are tracts neighbouring, and gardens of vines fields sown with corn and palm trees, growing out of single roots or otherwise, watered with the same water, yet some of them we make more excellent than others to eat" 13:4.

(4) "Seest thou not that God has made subject to you all that is on the Earth" 22:65.

(5) "O ye who believe! Give of the good things which ye have earned and of the fruits of the Earth which we have produced for you" 2:267.

(6) "This she-camel of God is a sign unto you. So leave her to graze in God's Earth, and let her come to no harm" 7:73. "There is no moving creature on Earth but its sustenance dependeth on God..." 11:6.

(7) "Says who is it that sustains You (in life) from the sky and from the Earth" 10:31. "And who gives you sustenance from Heaven and Earth?" 27:64.

(8) "It is He who has multiplied you through the Earth" 67:24. And God has produced you from the Earth growing and in the end He will return you into the (Earth) and raise you forth" 71:17. "And He has multiplied you through the Earth, and to Him shall ye be gathered back" 23:79. "What number of years did ye stay on Earth?" 23:112. "We already know how much of them the Earth takes away..." 50:4.

This meaning is very clear in the Bible. Land is described as land of fruits, honey, nuts, corn, cattle and fat [1]. The Land is the field. It is also described passively as a land of famine [2].

2. The Stepping Land (Ground). On green land there is the living land, the moving land, stepping and knocking the Earth. On Earth, there are animals of many kinds, image of the plurality of human agglomerations [3]. Sometimes animals are more conscious than humans. They can teach humans, and humans can learn from them [4]. There is also the flying land, land of birds from which man can also learn [5]. Birds and animals show also two realms, one in the heavens and the other on earth. Lastly, Earth is multicolor, image of human diversity in its unity with God [6]. From this diversity of colors, one picture is painted.

3. The Land of Conflict (Battle-Field). There is also the human land, land of struggle and conflict [7]. Land is a battle-field of conflict between right and wrong, justice and injustice. Revelation took the side of right, backed it by an ideology and gave solid means to realize it. Human praxis is the locus of the divine Word. That does not mean that God interferes directly and personally in the course of

(1) God 23:19, 33:26, Deut. 7:13, 11:21, 26:10, 28:18, 13:42, 51,30:9, Gen. 26:22, Lev. 25:19... etc.

(2) Gen. 26:1, 41:57, 43:1, 47:4.

(3) "There is not an animal on the Earth, nor a being that flies on its wings but communities like you" 6:38.

(4) "And when the word is fulfilled against them (the injust) we shall produce from the Earth a best to (face) them. He will speak to them, for that mankind did not believe with assurance in our signs" 17:82.

(5) "Then God sent a raven who scratched the ground, to show him how to hide the shame of his brother. Who is me! said he. Was I not even able to be as this raven and to hide the shame of my brother? Then he became full of regret" 5:31.

(6) "And things on this Earth which He has multiplied in varying colors.." 16:13.

(7) "And did not God cheek one set of people by means of another, the Earth would indeed be full of mischief..." 2:251. "(God) said: Get ye down with enmity between yourselves. On Earth will be your dwelling place and your means of livelihood for a time" 7:24. "He who forsakes his home in the cause of God, finds in the Earth many a refuge, wide and spacious. Should he die as a refugee from home for God and his Apostle, his reward becomes due and sure with God" 4:100.

history, but that nature itself contains elements of its perfection or corruption. Revelation is nothing else except the stature of nature, real and ideal at the same time. Revelation makes man strong on earth. Right without might is a weak right, and a weak right occurs in the absence of human praxis [1]. Triumph means dwelling on spacious land, and defeat means narrowing the land from its limits [2], by the shrinkage of human praxis. Only human praxis is the guarantor of the integrity of Land as a human dwelling place.

4. Land of Immigration (Exile). Land is so spacious that if it is impossible in a special time or a special space to realize man's vocation, an immigration to another land should occur. Changing the place of the battle for a better place is a good tactic to follow for the success of man's mission on earth. Weakness is not an argument for apology or self-justification. Weakness in one situation does not mean weakness in every situation [3]. The narrowness of the land, psychologically or geographically, is a sign of narrowness of mind or incapacity of will [4]. Human action appears here wider and more spacious than the spacious Land itself. It can never be shrunk under any conditions. Otherwise, human weakness and laziness would be able to justify all sterility and inaction.

5. Land of Experience (History). The whole Land as a battlefield is history. History is the combination of spacious and permanent Earth. History is a great field of verification of human vocation and the fulfillment of God's words on Earth. History is the laboratory of the Covenant ratified between God and man which gives us the

(1) "O ye who believe! What is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of God, ye cling heavily to the Earth..." 9:38. "It is not fitting for an Apostle that he should have prisoners of war until he has thoroughly subdued the land" 8:67.

(2) "See they not that we gradually reduce the land from its outlying borders? Is it then they who will win?" 21:46.

(3) "When angles take the souls of those who die in sin against their souls, they say: In what (plight) were ye? They reply: Weak and oppressed were we in the Earth! They say: Was not the Earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourselves away?" 4:97.

(4) "... The land for all that is wide did constrain you, and ye turned back in retreat" 9:25. "To the three who were left behind, to such a degree that the Earth seemed constrained to them for all its spaciousness..." 9:118.

results of the experience and even the last laws [1]. These laws, although they are the words of God, are pure human and natural laws. Revelation and nature are the same. These laws, because they are the words of God, that is, true laws, work by themselves instead of the ancient form of a direct interference of God the course of history. Some examples: Those who reject the fulfillment of the human vocation, which is at the same time a divine command and a natural law, will never be able to stay on Earth [2]. Those who reject the truth and the faith will never stay on Earth. Earth itself is created and based by and on truth [3]. Those who are powerful on Earth, feeling

(1) "Do they not travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before them?" 12:109. "So travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those who denied" 16.36. "Do they not travel through the land so that their hearts may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts which are in their breasts" 22:46. Say: Go ye through the Earth and see what has been the end of those guilty" 27:69. Say: Travel through the Earth and see how God did originate creation..." 29.20. "Do they not travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before them? They were superior to them in strength. They tilled the soil and populated it in greater numbers than these have done. There came to them their Apostles with clear signs. It was not God who wronged them but they wronged their own souls" 30:9. "Travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before. Most of them worshipped others besides God" 30:42. "Do they not travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before them? They were more numerous than these and supperior in strength and in the traces in the Land. Yet all that they accomplished was of no profit for them" 40:82. "Many were the ways of life that have passed away before you. Travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those who rejected truth" 3:137, 6:11. "Do they not travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before them though they were superior to them in strength? Nor is God to be frustrated by anything whatever in the Heavens or on Earth" 35:44. "Do they not travel through the Earth and see what was the end of those before them? God brought other destruction on them and similar those who reject God" 47:10. "Their purpose was to scare thee off the Land in order to expel thee. But in that case they would not have stayed after thee except for a little whole" 17:76.

(2) "See they not what is before them and behind them, of the sky and the Earth? If we wished, we could cause the Earth to swallow them up or cause a piece of the sky to fall upon them" 34:9. "Nor can ye frustrate through the Earth. Nor have ye besides God anyone to protect or to help" 42:31. "But we think that we can by no means frustrate God throughout the Earth, nor can we frustrate Him by flight" 72:12. "If any does not hearken to the one who invites to God, he cannot frustrate on Earth and no protectors can he have besides God. Such men are in manifest error" 46.32.

(3) "Never thou that the unbelievers are going to frustrate on Earth..." 24:57. "And Noah said: O my Lord! Leave not of unbelievers a single one on Earth!" 71:26.

free to do all kinds of injustice, will be destroyed. Might without right ends by a complete destruction of might [1]. Those who do not practice the moral law and to righteous ness will end also in complete destruction. Truth is indeed a moral truth. Truth in the end is triumphant [2].

III. Vocation on Land.

1. God of Heavens and Earth. God is described in the Qur'an not only as "God in the Heavens" but as "God of Heavens and Earth" [3]. The connection between Heavens and Earth is indestructible. On Earth the Word of God manifests, and God is the Truth on Earth. The connection is made, 211 times out of 462. It is made directly, without interference of other words. 123 times in this formula, "Heavens and Earth." The term "Land" can be mentioned alone. Of the 462 times it is mentioned alone about 245 times. But never " Heavens" is mentioned alone. God, then, is connected to Heavens as well as to Land but even more to Land. That makes of Land an absolute value like God, or at least on the same level of absoluteness. God doesn't exist in abtracto but in concerto. This truth is explained otherwise. Geologically Heavens and Earth were one thing and were later disassociated from each other [4]. Esthetically, God is the Light of Heavens and Earth [5].

(1) "See they not how many of those before them we did destroy? Generations we had established on the Earth, in strength such as we have not given to you, for whom we poured out rain from the skies in abundance, and gave streams flowing beneath them. Yet for their sins we destroyed them, and raised in their walk fresh generations" 6:6. "They will in no wise frustrate on Earth, nor have they protectors besides God. Their penalty will be doubled. They lost the power to hear, and they did not see!" 11:20. "Go ye, then for four months, backwards and forwards throughout the Land but now ye that ye cannot frustrate God, but that God will cover with shame those who reject Him" 9:74.

(2) "And we delivered him and Lut to the Land which we have blessed for the nations" 21:71.

(3) "Lord of Heavens and Earth" 19:65, 21:56, 26:26, 43:32, 51:23. Lord of Heavens and Lord of Earth" 65:36, "Lord of Heavens and Earth and all between them" 37:5, 44:7, 78:37. "It is He who is God in Heaven and God on Earth" 43.,84.

(4) "Don't the unbelievers see that the Heavens and the Earth were joined together before we clove them asunder?" 21:30. See also, Matt. 3:15.

(5) "God is the light of the Heavens and the Earth" 24:35.

Lastly, the word "Heavens" is used in the plural, but "Earth" is always singular. Singularity has more value than plurality.

2. Vice-gerency of Man. Man is the vicegerent of God on Earth. A vice-gerent is more than a simple representative. God gave truth and left for man the message of fulfilling this truth on Earth. God does not interfere directly in the universe but His words may be fulfilled by man. Vice-gerency is the oath of man to practice virtue, to be just and not to do harm on Earth. If he does, the will succeed God. the Prophets and the believers because they realize God's will on Earth, will inherit the Land. Vice-gerency here means succession and inheritance [1]. This vice-gerency is the deposit or the trust which God gave to man and which has been refused by all creatures except by man [2]. Ignorance or injustice? Misery or greatness? There is no theoretical answer homogeneous and correct. The answer is a practical one. Only man by his life and his deed can prove his worthiness of this message. He can be worthy or unworthy. Only his deed can decide this alternative.

3. The Spacious Land. The Earth is described as strait, long, carpet, spacious, wide expanse for humans to walk upon and to dwell [3].

(1) "Behold, they Lord said to the angels: I will create a vicegerent on Earth. They said: Wilt thou place therein one who will snake mischief therein and shed blood?" 2:43. "O David! We did indeed make thee a vicegerent on Earth, so judge thou between, men in truth, nor follow thou the lusts for they will mislead thee from the path of God" 38:26. "Thus did we establish Joseph in the Land" 12:21. "He (Joseph) sand: set me over the store houses of the Land. I will indeed guard them..." 12:55. "Thus we did establish power to Joseph in the Land to take possession therein" 12:56. "He it is that has made you vicegerents (inheritors) in the Earth" 35:39. "It is We who have placed you with authority on Earth, and provided you therein with means for the fulfillment of your life" 7:10. "It is He who hath produced you from the Earth and settled you therein" 11:61.

(2) "We did indeed offer the trust to the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains, but they refused to undertake it, being afraid thereof. But man undertook it" 33:72. "And if it were our will, we could make angels from amongst you, succeeding each other on the Earth" 43:60.

(3) "Who has made the Earth your couch?" 2:22. "He who has made for you the Earth like a carpet spread out has enabled you to go about therein by roads..." 20:43, 43:10. "It is God who has made for you the Earth as a resting place..." 40:64. "And we have spread out the (spacious) Earth, how excellently we do spread out!" 51:48. "It is He who has =

The spaciousness of Earth is similar to the spaciousness of the Heavens; both are images of an absolute in time and space [1]. The Earth then is a field of human action for the fulfillment of man's vocation and the realization of the trust that God gave him [2]. God could conserve His Word on Earth by Himself but he left the mission to man, and man accepted it willingly. No more miracles are possible [3]. And even man can control all material phenomena by his action [4]. God Himself is always in action [5].

4. The Human Action. This vocation transforms man's weakness into strength. It is man's destiny, his interest and his glory. It is an appeal of his nature as well as an appeal from God. revelation and nature being the same appeal [6]. There is no other alternative: wealth,

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= spread out the Earth for creatures 55:10. "And God has made the Earth for you as a carpet (spread out)" 71:19. "Have we not made the Earth as a wide expanse?" 78:6. "... on Earth will be your dwelling place and your means of livelihood for a time" 2:36. "And at the Earth how it spread out" 88:20. "By the Earth its (wide) expanse" 91:6. "Spacious is God's Earth!" 39:16.

(1) "... And for a garden whose width is that of the Heavens and of the Earth" 3:133. "They will dwell therein for all the time that Heavens and the Earth endure" 11:107-108. See also Land is as the Garden of Eden" Joel. 2.3.

(2) "Have We not made the Earth to draw together" 77:25. "O ye who believed! Be not like the unbelievers who say of their brethren when they are traveling through the Earth or engaged in fighting: if they had stayed with us, they would not have died or been slain..." 3..156.

(3) "If it had been thy Lord's will, they would all have believed, all who are on Earth. Wilt thou then compel mankind against their will to believe" 10:99. "God created the Heavens and the Earth for just ends.. and in order that each soulmay find the recompense of what it has earned. and none of them be wronged" 45:22. "They say: We shall not believe in Thee until Thou cause a spring to gush forth for us from the Earth... Say, glory to my Lord. Am I aught but a man, an Apostle" 17:90. "If their spurning is hard on thy mind, yet if thou went able to seek a tunnel in the ground or a ladder to the skies and bring them a sign..." 6:35.

(4) "It is He who has made the Earth manageable for you, so traverse ye through its tracks..." 67:15. "Do ye not see that God has subjected to your (use) all things in the Heavens and on Earth..." 31:20.

(5) "Of Him seeks every creature in the Heavens and on Earth Every day in new (splendor) doth He" 55:29.

(6) "Say: if there were settled on Earth, angels walking about in peace and quiet, We should have certainly sent them down from the Heavens and angel for an apostle" 17:95. "Then when He calls you, by a single call, from the Earth, behold ye come forth" 36:25. "And=

social position, racial identity or genealogical descent [1]. The vocation is done individually. It is a matter of quality of man rather than a quantity of human beings [2]. It is only the whole action that can save individually, not any other partial or gesticulatory act [3]. Damage and death will occur, but sacrifice and martyrdom are dimensions of human existence [4]. There is no other physical means to arrive at Heaven than the ideal one, human action realizing human vocation [5].

5. The Objective Truth. God's Word and its realization by human vocation is an objective truth completely independent of human passions and particular interests. There is a truth which doesn't leave any occasion for its subjective interpretation. This is a condition of universalism and of the unity of all humans around one truth independent of their inclinations and particular desires. Heavens and Earth together are created by truth and founded on truth [6]. The Earth is sensible to

= we understood not whether it is intended to those on Earth or whether their Lord intended to guide them to right conduct" 72:10.

(1) "But those who respond not on Him, even if they had all that is in the Heavens and on Earth, and as much more would they offer it for ransom" 13:18. "Even if the wrong-doers had all that there is on Earth, and as much more, would they offer it for ransom from the pain of the penalty on the day of judgment" 39:47. "And those who reject faith, and die rejecting, never would be accepted. From any such as much gold as the Earth contains though they should offer it for ransom" 3:41. "And all, all that is on Earth, so it could deliver him,." 70:14. "Not if thou hadst spent all that is in the Earth could it thou have produced that affection, but God has done it" 8:63. "Every soul that has sinned, if it possessed all that is on Earth would fain give it in ransom" 10:54.

(2) "And Moses said: if ye show ingratitude, ye and all on earth together, yet is God free of all wants" 14:8.

(3) "When ye travel through the Earth, there is no blame on you if ye shorten your prayers..." 4:102. "And when the prayer is finished, then may be disperse through the Land and seek of the bounty of God" 62:10. "...Others traveling the Land seeking of God's bounty" 73:20.

(4) "...If you are journeying through the Earth and the chance of death befalls you..." 5:105. "... Misfortune can happen on Earth or in your souls..." 57:22. "Nor does anyone know in what it is that he will earn on the morrow, nor does anyone know in what land he is to die" 31:34.

(5) "O ye assembly of jinns and men! If it be ye can pass beyond the zones of the heavens and the Earth, pass ye! Not without authority shall ye be able to pass!" 55:33.

(6) "If the truth had been in accord with their desires, truly the Heavens and the Earth and all beings therein would have been in confusion and corruption" 23:71. "Seest thou not that God created the Heavens and the Earth in truth?" 14:19. "We created not the Heavens, the Earth and all between them but in truth (just ends)" 15:83, 46:3. "He has created the Heavens and the Earth in truth (just ends)" 16:3, 29:44, 69:3. "Or have they taken gods from the Earth" 21:21.

truth. It shrinks from non-truth [1]. Human plotting and deviating from truth by sophistication will never lead to objective truth independent of human passions [2]. Heaven's truth. Earth's, truth and human truth are the same [3]. That doesn't mean that God's words are finite. They are infinite and will never end even if the trees of the Earth were pencils and the seas on Earth were ink! [4]

IV. Fulfillment of Vocation on Land.

1. Belief in Unity. Man's vocation on Earth is realized by two things belief and action, belief in God and doing good. Belief in God attaches man to the land. The term "Land" annexed to personal pronouns twice, first person plural "our Land" and second person plural "your Land" (these usages occur 6 times out of 462) informs us that the Pharaoh and his court accused Moses and Aaron with the charge that monotheism withdrew people out of their land. It was a false accusation based on the truth of the contrary. Monotheism attaches people to the Land. Belief in God does not lead to extermination from land except by oppression [5]. Giving the Land as a natural result of believing in

(1) "Indeed ye have put forth a thing most monstrous! At it the skies are ready to burst, the Earth to split asunder, and the mountains to fall down in utter ruin" 19:89-90.

(2) "Do then those who devise evil (plots) feel secure that God will not cause the Earth to swallow them up" 16:45. "... like one whom the evil ones have made into a fool wandering bewildered through the Earth..." 6:71. "Went thou to follow the common run of those on Earth they will lead thee away from the way of God" 6:116. "... But, he inclined to the Earth and followed his own vain desired..." 7:176.

(3) "And neither Heaven nor Earth shed a tear over them" 44.29.

(4) "And if all trees on Earth were pens and the ocean (were ink) with seven oceans behind it to add to its (supply) yet would the words of God be exhausted (in the writing)" 31:27.

(5) "Said the chiefs of the people of Pharaoh: This is indeed a sorcerer well versed. His plan is to get you out of your Land..." 7:110. "They said: These two are certainly magicians. Their object is to drive you out of your Land with their magic and to do away with your most cherished institution" 20:63. "His plan is to get you out of your Land by his sorcery..." 26:35. "He said: Hast thou come to drive us out of our Land with thy magic, O Moses?" 20:57. "And the unbelievers said to their apostles: Be sure we shall drive you out of our Land, or ye shall return to our religion" 14:13. "They said: If we were to follow the guidance with thee we should be snatched away from our Land" 28:57. "Said Pharaoh: Leave me to slay Moses and let him call on his Lord! What I fear is lest he should change your religion or lest he should cause mischief to appear in the Land!" 40:26.

God does not mean believing in a material land and making believing in God a simple justification [1]. The production of the Land or the Land itself cannot he a motivation for believing in God. Belief is motivated by the essence of belief itself, not by any material reward. The productivity of the Land is not a reward. There is no promised Land as a reward for believing in God. On the contrary, believing in God liberates human consciousness from any material motivation. Monotheism has a function of liberating consciousness from the domination of matter and the oppression of any human dictatorship. Its aim is the creation of an ideal consciousness, with an independent reason and will, capable of guiding human life by the aid of revelation, i.e., guidelines for human life, without further waiting for an external divine help for believers or unbelievers.

2. Good Deeds. If monotheism believing in God attaches mankind to the Land, good deeds realize the function of this belief. Those who are on the Land and maintain it are those who practice righteousness and do good. Belief and good deeds are two faces of the same coin. One is the manifestation of the other [2]. Good deeds build the Land. Believing in God means construction of the Land [3]. On the contrary,

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(1) "And remember ye said: O Moses! We cannot endure one kind of food. So beseech thy Lord for us to produce for us of what the Earth growth its pot-herbs and cucumbers, its garlic, lentils, and onions. He said: Will ye exchange the better for the worse? Go ye down to any town and ye shall find what ye shall They were covered with humiliation and misery. They drew on themselves the wrath of God. This because they went on rejecting the signs of God and slaying His messengers without just cause. This because they rebelled and went on transgressing" 2.61.

(2) "(They are) those who, if we establish them in the Land. establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid wrong" 22:41. "If the people of the towns had but believed and feared God, we should indeed have opened out to them blessings from Heaven and Earth ..." 7:96.

(3) "... But do thou good, as God has been good to thee, and seek not mischief in the Land for God loves us and those who do mischief" 28:77. "To the Madian (people) (we sent) their brother Shu'aib. Then he said: O my people serve God, and fear the last day, nor commit evil on Earth, with intent to do mischief" 29:36. "Who makes mischief in the Land, and mend not" 26:152. "Thus doesn't God show forth truth and vanity, for the scum disappears like forth cast out; while that which is for the good of mankind remains on Earth" 13:17.

bad deeds destroy the Land [1]. There are many kinds of mischief, material and moral. Material mischief is, for instance, destruction of plants, theft and all kinds of destruction of Earth [2]. There is also destruction of human beings at the same time, by killing. exiling, imprisoning and oppressing. This is both material and moral wrongdoing [3]. There is also pure moral mischief like subjecting truth to passion, doing injustice, going to extremes, accepting the authority of any tradition without verification, imitation, forswearing oaths, breaking the covenant, and denying the merits of those who deserve [4]. Those

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(1) "When it is said to them: make not mischief on Earth, they say: Why, we only want to make peace!" 2:11. "...But they strive to do mischief on Earth and God loveth not those who do mischief" 5:64. "Do no mischief on the Earth after it hath been set in order" 7:56. "...And refrain from evil and mischief on the Earth"7:74. "The Gog and Magog do great mischief on Earth..." 18:94. "Then is it to be expected of you if ye were put in authority that you will do mischief in the Land and break your ties of kith and kin?" 47:22. "...They transgress insolently through the Earth in defiance of right..." 10:23. See also "...Remove the iniquity of that Land..." Zech. 3:9. The transgression on land...." Prov. 2:21.

(2) "When he turns his back, his aim everywhere is to spread mischief through the Earth and destroy crops and cattle, but God loveth not mischief" 2:205 "(The brothers) said: By God, will ye Know that we came not to make mischief in the Land, and we are no thieves!" 12:73.

(3) "On that account, we ordained for the children of Israel that if anyone slew a person, unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the Land, it would be as it he slew the whole people. And if anyone saved a life it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people" 5:32. "The blame is only against those who oppress men with wrong doing and insolently transgress beyond bounds through the Land defying right and justice" 42:43.

(4) "If the truth had been. in accord with their desires, truly the Heavens and the Earth and all beings therein would have been in confusion and corruptions 23:71. "And O my people! give just measure and weight, nor withhold from the people the things that are their due. Commit not evil in the Land with intent to do mischief'" 11:85. "... Many of them continued to commit excesses the Land" 5:32. "Those who break Gods Covenant after it is ratified and who sends what God has ordered to be joined, and do mischief on Earth. These cause loss to themselves" 2:27. "But those who break the Covenant of God, after having plighted their word thereto, and cut asunder those things which God has commanded to be joined, and work mischief in the Land" 13:25. "There were in the city nine men of a family who made a mischief in the Land and would not reform" 27:48. "Give just measure and weight, nor withhold from the people the things that are their due, and do no mischief on the Earth after it has been set in order" 7:85. "And withhold not things justly due to men. nor do evil in the Land, working mischief" 26:183.

who construct and those who destroy are not on the same level. They are not equal. The first will have their reward and the second their punishment [1].

3. Obedience. The Land is given, by the nature of things, for those who obey God. Obedience is the third constituent besides belief and action. The only verse where "Land" is connected with a third person plural means that Earth is given for those who obey God [2]. Earth is not inherited in the sense of belonging to, but in the sense of obedience and good actions. The heirs of the Land are not an assigned people, for ever, from the beginning of a promise till the end, in the fulfillment of this promise, as an absolute right, a priori or in principio, but non-assigned, temporal, possible, may-happen-or-not, a posteriori, and purely conditional [3]. Obedience to God does not mean a passive execution of God's commands but an active role of understanding and of acting on that ground [4].

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(1) "Shall we treat those who believe and work deeds of righteousness the same as those who do mischief on Earth. Shall we treat those who guard against evil, the same as those who turn from the right" 38:28. "We broke them up into sections on the Earth. There are among them some that are the righteous and some that are the opposite" 7:168. "Why were there not, among the generations before you persons possessed of balanced good sense, prohibiting from mischief in the Earth, except a few among whom We saved. But the wrong-doers pursued the enjoyment of the good things of life which were given them and persisted in sin" 11:116. "The punishment of those who wage war against God and his apostle, and strive with might and main for mischief through the Land and is: execution or crucifixion or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides or evil from the Land" 5:36. "But when he delivered them, behold they transgress insolently through the Earth in defiance of right" 10:23. "And we caused the Earth to swallow him up and his house" 28:81, 29:40, 67:16.

(2) "And made you heirs of their Lands, their houses and their goods and of a Land which ye had not frequented (before) 33:27. "Verily, we established his power on Earth and we gave him the ways and the means to all ends" 18:84.

(3) "Before this we wrote in the Psalms, after the message (given to Moses): My servants, the righteous shall inherit the Earth" 21:105. "O my people, yours is the domination this day. Ye have the upper hand in the Land..." 40:29. "God said: Therefore will the Land be out of their reach for forty years. In destruction will they wander through the Land. But sorrow thou not over these rebellious people" 5:126.

(4) Psalms XXV, 13 "His seed shall inherit the Earth". XXXVIT, 11. "The meek shall inherit the Earth" quoted by Jesus in Matt. V.3. XXXVII, 29 "The righteous shall inherit the Land."

4. Inheritance as Succession. Inheritance of the Land means a simple succession of people, succession of those who obey God and do good deeds to those who disobey God and do bad deeds [1]. If God is the only Owner and the only Heir, He gives the Land to those who obey Him to live on as long as they obey and fulfill the oath of obedience. If those who obey God are still a minority or weak, the future will be with them and they will inherit the Land and succeed on it [2]. There is no eternal inheritance or everlasting succession as a vested right from the Fathers. There is no homeland and a right of return because there is no rational right except as a myth. Myths work in history as well as truth.

5- Modesty. The first sign of obedience is modesty [3]. No one

(1) "To those who inherit the Earth in succession to its (previous) possessors.." 7:100. "Said Moses to his people. Pray for help from God and (wait) in patience mid constancy, for the Earth is God's to give as a heritage to such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the end is (best) for the righteous" 7:128. "He said: if may be that your Lord will destroy your enemy and make you inheritors in the Earth, that so he may try you your deeds" 2:129. "It is He who hath made you (his) agents, inheritors of the Earth..." 6:165. "And remember how He made you inheritors after the ***Aad*** people and gave you habitations in the Land..." 7:74. "Then we made you heirs in the Land after them to see how ye would behave" 10:14. "God has promised to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will, of a surety, grant them in the Land, inheritance (of power), as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their religion, the one which He has chosen for them; and that He will change, (their state) after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace. They will worship Me (alone) and not associate aught with me. If any do reject faith after this, they are rebellious and wicked" 24:55. "And verily we shall cause you to abide in the Land and succeed them..." 14:14. "They will say: Praise be to God, who has truly fulfilled His promise to us and has given us (this) Land in heritage" 39:74. "Therefore will I not leave this Land until my Father permits me, or God commands me" 12:80.

(2) "And We made a people, considered weak inheritors of Lands in both east and west..." 7:137. "And we wished to be gracious to those who were being depressed in the Land, to make them leaders and make them heirs, to establish a firm place for them in the Land..." 28:5-6. "The Roman Empire has been defeated in a Land close by, but after defeat of theirs will soon by victorious" 30:3.

(3) "Nor walk on the Earth With insolence, for thou canst not rend the Earth asunder nor reach the mountains in height" 17:37. "Those who behave arrogantly on Earth in defiance of right, them will I turn away from my signs" 7:146. "They intentions is none other than to become a powerful violent man in the Land and not to be one who sets things right!" 28:19. "On account of their arrogance in the Land and their plotting of evil" 35:43. "Now the Aad behaved arrogantly through the Land against (all) truth and reason and said: Who is superior to us in strength? What! Did they not see that God who created them was superior to them in strength?" 41:15.

on earth who is proud of himself, arrogant and turning up his nose can be a successor on Earth. Destruction of the Land occurs through pride, arrogance and egoism. Those who believe in God will never be arrogant because God is higher then they. There is no place for a feeling of superiority, election or special favor because all humans are equal before God. Things will be worse if to arrogance is added violence, oppression of others, and the division of humankind between Greeks and barbarians. The destruction of Pharaoh occurred because of his arrogance. He never conceived that, there was a power over his power [(1)]. All humans before God feel modest and humble. On the contrary, those who are pious and truly pious are unknown and prefer to be unknown and rather at the end of the line [(2)]. Are not the first last and the last and the first? The only difference between humans, is that of good deeds [(3)].

V. The Universal Covenant.

1. The Material Covenant. Many examples are given from history of prophecy showing the connection between obedience and Land and show Land, that is, dwelling in the Land, as a result of obedience. Examples are given from the peoples of Aad and Thamud. But the proto-example and the most recent is that of the people of Israel.

(1) "And certainly Pharaoh was mighty on Earth and one who transgressed all bounds" 10:83. "Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and broke up its people into sections depressing a small group among them..."28:4. "And he was arrogant and insolent in the land, beyond reason, he and his hosts" 28:39. "... But they have behaved with insolence on the Earth..." 29:39. "Moses said: I have indeed called upon my Lord and your Lord from my arrogance" 40:27. "That was because ye were wont to rejoice on the Earth in things in other than the truth, and that ye were wont to be insolent... And evil is abode of the arrogance" 40:75-76.

(2) "And the servants of (God) most Gracious are those who walk on the Earth in humility and when the ignorant address them, they say, peace!" 25:63. "And swell not the cheek (for pride) at men, nor walk in insolence through the Earth, for God loveth not any arrogant boaster" 31:18. "That home of me hereafter We shall give to those who intend not high-handedness or mischief on Earth" 38:83. "Even those who are in His presence are not too proud to serve him..." 21:19.

(3) "It is who hath made you (this) agents, inheritors of the Earth. He hath raised you in ranks. some above others, that He may try you in the gifts He hath given you" 6:165.

God always gave from His side all kinds of grace. Every prophet reminded them constantly of the grace of God and all the favors that God had given them. First of all, God sent to them prophets and messengers in order to guide them in their life and made the children of Israel the Inheritors of truth and prophecy (1). Not only did God provide them with holy words but He supported the prophets with clear, signs in order that they might and obey (2).

Secondly, God gave them all what they demanded of material things: food, water, place, shelter ...etc. God did not refuse them anything even these material things, provided that they believe and obey Him (3). Thirdly, God gave them the Torah and made in Law life for them (4). Fourthly, God, preserved their unity and their ethnic Identity(5). Fifthly, God saved them always from all calamities and catastrophes crossing the sea and sinking Pharaoh and his soldiers. Therefore the children of Israel have been delivered from slavery (6).

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(1) "And We gave Moses the book and made it a guide to the children of Israel" 17:2. "We did aforetime give Moses the (book of) guidance and We gave, the book in inheritance to the children to the children of Israel" 40:53. "We did aforetime grant to the children of Israel the Book, the power of commands and prophethood" 45:16. "We did indeed aforetime give the Book to Moses. Be not then in doubt of its reaching. And We made it a guide to the children of Israel" 32:23. "O children of Israel! Call to mind the favor I bestowed upon you..." 2:40.

(2)"Now, Have I come unto you, from your Lord, with a clear sign? 7.105. "To Moses We did give nine clear signs" 17:101.

(3) "We settled the children of Israel in a beautiful dwelling place, and provided for them sustenance of the best..." 10:93. "We gave them for sustenance, things good and pure" 45:16.

(4) "...We ordained for the children of Israel that it anyone slew a person, unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the Land, it would be as if he slew the whole people. If anyone saved a life it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people" 5:32.

(5) "Aaron replied: O son of my mother! not by my beard nor by (the hair of) my head! Truly I feared lest thou shouldst say: thou hast caused a division among the children of Israel and thou didst not respect my word" 20:94.

(6) ".. The fair promise of my Lord was fulfilled for the children of Israel, because they had patience and constancy, and We leveled to the ground the great works and fine buildings which Pharaoh and his people elected. We took the children of Israel (with safety) across the sea" 7:137-38. "We took the children of Israel across the sea. Pharaoh and his soldiers followed them in insolence and spite. At length, when overwhelmed with=

Sixthly, God, because He had to speak to mankind, chose them and preferred them to all nations by the fact that He sent them prophets to guide them and teach them wisdom and perfect life [1]. The preference is made not for genealogical characteristics in them or for a special favor they have from God, but only by the fact that God talk to them through the prophets. The preference here is for giving them prophethood and guidance, never for any material promise or favor. Material favors are given to all nations and individuals.

The covenant of prophethood is from the beginning till the end. All the prophets from Adam, Noah, Abraham to Moses, Jesus and Mohammed enter in the Covenant, that of telling the truth and communicating the words of God. Of the 25 times where the term "Covenant' is used, 9 times assign the Covenant of prophethood. Only prophethood is given to the children of Israel [2]. Any material donation was a result of obedience to God. All kinds of material inheritance are a natural consequence of good deeds [3].

= the flood" 10:90. "O ye children of Israel! We delivered you from your enemy" 20:80. "We did deliver aforetime the children of Israel from humiliating punishment inflicted by Pharaoh" 44:30. "And this is the favour with which thou hast reproach me, that thou hast enslaved the children of Israel" 26:22. "So go ye both, to him and say: verily we are Apostles sent by thy Lord. Sent forth, therefore, the children of Israel with us, and inflict them, not" 20:47.

(1) "O children of Israel! Call to mind the (special) favour which I bestowed upon you, and that I preferred you to all others (for, my message)" 2:47, 2:122. "And we favoured them above the nations" 45:16. "These were some of the prophets on whom God did bestow His grace, of the posterity of Adam, and of those whom we carried (in the ark) with Noah, and of the posterity of' Abraham and Israel of those we guided and chose. Whenever the signs of (God) most gracious were rehearsed to them, they would fall down in prostrate adoration and in tears" 19:58.

(2) "Thus it was, but We made the children of Israel inheritors of such things" 26:59.

(3) "And remember, we took from the prophets their covenant as (we did) from thee: From Noah, Abraham, Moses Jesus the son of Mary. We took from them a solemn covenant: that (God) may question the (custodians) of truth concerning the truth they (were charged with)" 33:7-8. "Behold God took the covenant of the prophets saying: I give you a book and wisdom. Then comes to you an Apostle, confirming what is with you. Do ye believe in him and render him help. God said: Do you agree and take this my covenant as binding on you? They said: We agree. He said: Then bear witness and I am with you among the witnesses" 3:81.

These material favors were indeed signs of the Presence of God in order that the children of Israel might believe in Him by their own way, the material favor. But it was not a part of the Covenant. The term 'Aahd, which also means Covenant, may also signify in some of its usages "promise". It has been used about 46 times in various senses of Covenan: word, faith, engagement, enjoyment, contract, alliance, treaty, league; only 6 times in the meaning of promise. Even in these meanings, the promise is not a land a monarchy or a Priesthood, but a sacrifice to God or a saying by God (1). Sometimes the promise is without content, but a long interval of time of tests (2).

2. The Contractual Covenant. This favor of God as a sign of His grace had its culmination in the Covenant. It was a pure contracted covenant not a material, a theological or an ontological one. As long as the Covenant is fulfilled on both sides, the contract remains in force. But if one side looses his stipulations, the other side is free and also has the right to loose this. In his moment the Covenant is broken and is null and void (3). That is why of the 25 times that the term "covenant" is used, 4 times are in of a pure human contract or treaty between two persons or communities, in marriage or mutual defense (4). In the Bible the Covenant means etymologically an agreement between two contracting parties. Berith is synonymous to the Law. The Haggadah treats the Covenant with Abraham in the same contractual sense. God showed him Gehenna and the domination of the nations on one side, and the revelation on Mt. Sinai and the service in the

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(1) "They said: God took our promise not to believe in an apostle unless he showed us a sacrifice consumed by fire" 3:183. "Every time the penalty fell on them, they said: O Moses! On our behalf call on thy Lord in virtue of his promise to thee..." 7:134. "And they said: O thou sorcerer! Invoke thy Lord for us according to His covenant with thee for We shall truly accept guidance" 43:49.

(2) "Did then the promise seem to you long?" 20:86.

(3) "O children of Israel! Call to mind the (special) favor which I bestowed upon you, and fulfill my covenant with you, and fear none but Me" 2:40.

(4) "Except those who join a group between whom and you there is a treaty" 4:90. "If he belonged to a people with whom ye have treaty of mutual alliance..." 40:92. "Except against a people with whom ye have a treaty of mutual alliance" 8:72. "And how could ye take it when ye have gone in unto each other, and they have taken from you a solemn covenant" 4:21.

Temple on the other, and said: If your children honor these last two (the Torah and worship), they shall be spared the first two. If not, the Temple shall be destroyed, and you may now choose between suffering under the heathen and suffering in Gehenna as the punishment of your descendants [1].

Another term, 'Ahd in the sense of promise, is used 9 times out of 46 in a contractual sense on the human level. It means also contract, alliance, treaty or league [2]. The same meaning is employed to define this contractual relation between God and man. A third term, Wa'd which means promise, is used 2 times in the sense of Covenant ratified then broken, and only one time in the sense, of human contract between man and woman in marriage (out of 157 uses) [3]. This means that the promise is not a part of the Covenant In the OT, the Covenant is assigned as a Covenant: of peace 4 times, of priesthood twice, of mercy 3 times, and a brotherly covenant one time out of 255 times [4].

The term 'Ahd is used also 6 times out of 46 in the sense of a word to maintain, a faith to fulfill, or an engagement to hold [5]. It is also

(1) The Jewish Encyclopedia, "Covenant." Vol. 4, p. 321.

(2) "A (declaration) of immunity from God and His Apostle, to those of the pagans with whom ye have contracted mutual alliances" 9:1. "... To fulfill the contracts which they have made..." 2:177. "...Or has he taken a contract with Most Gracious" 19:78. "(But the treaties are) not dissolved with those pagans with whom ye have entered into alliance and who have not subsequently failed you in aught, nor aided anyone against you" 9:4. "How can there be a league, before God and His Apostle, with the pagans, except those with whom ye made a treaty..." 9:7.

(3) "So He hath put as a consequence hypocrisy into their hearts till the day whereon they shall meet Him because they broke the covenant with God and because they lied" 9:77. "O ye children of Israel! We delivered you from your enemy and we made a covenant with you on the right side of Mount, and we sent down to you manna and quails" 20:80. "But do not make a secret, contract with them except in terms honorable, nor resolve on the tie of marriage till the term prescribed is fulfilled" 2:235.

(4) Covenant of peace: Num. 25:12, Ez. 34:25, 37:26, Isa. 54:10; covenant of priesthood: Num. 25:13. Nab. 13:14; covenant of mercy: Neh. 1:5, Dan. 9:6, Deut, 7:9; brotherly covenant: Amos 1:9.

(5) "Nay, those that keep their plighted faith and act aright, verily God loves those who act aright" 3:76. "As those who sell the faith they owe to God and their own plighted word for a small price they shall have no portion in the hereafter" 3:77. "And fulfill engagement for engagement will be inquired into" 17:34. "So fulfill your engagements with them to the end of their term, for God loveth the righteous" 9:4. "Did I not enjoin on you, O ye children of Adam, that ye should not worship Satan, for that was to you an enemy avowed?" 36:60.

used one time in the meaning of promise like a contractual covenant [1]. The term Wa'd, which means promise, is used 10 times out of 151 (in a derivative sense Wa'ada as a verb and Maw'id as a noun) in the meaning of an appointment or trust [2]. The appointment is either a ***rendez-vous*** between man and man or between man and God. These usages make the transition from the contractual covenant to the moral covenant. In the OT, the contractual covenant is assigned one time out of 151 times! [3] One time only is assigned as the Covenant of the Law [4]. There is a constant exhortation to keep and to remember it [5].

3. The Moral Covenant. The content of the Covenant was worship to God, obedience to Him and doing righteousness [6]. The Covenant was a pure moral Covenant. The inhabitation of the Land is also an aspect of this moral Covenant. Land is given to them because as far as Pharaoh is concerned, they were right and he was

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(1) "... Say: have ye taken a promise from God, for He never broke His promise?" 2:80.

(2) "And remember We appointed forty night for Moses" 2:51. "Even if ye had made a mutual appointment to meet, ye would certainly have failed in the appointment" 8:42. "... but they have their appointed home beyond which they will find no refuge" 18:58. "...Aye, ye thought We shall not fulfill the appointment made to us to meet (us)" 18:48. "... but We fixed an appointed time for their destruction" 18:59. "Morning is their time appointed. Is not the morning nigh?" 11.81. "Say, the appointment to you for a day, which ye cannot put back for an hour nor put forward" 34:30. "So make a tryst between us and thee which we shall not fail to keep. neither, We nor they..." 20:38. "Moses said: Your tryst is the day of the festival" 20:59.

(3) "If you will obey... and keep My covenant..." Ex. 19:5.

(4) "Keep the Sabbath... for a perpetual covenant" Ex. 31:16.

(5) Gen. 9:16, 17:4. 17:9-10, Exod. 6:5, Lev. 26:42,45. Deut. 29:9, 2Ch. 6:14. Neh. 1:5. Psa. 74:20, 103:18. 105:8. 106:45, 111:5, 132:12, Eze. 16:60. 17:14, 20:37.

(6) "And remember We took a covenant from the children of Israel: Worship none but God; treat with kindness your parents and kindered and orphans and close in need; speak fair to the people Be steadfast in prayer; and practice regularly charity..." 2:83. God did aforetime take a covenant from the children of Israel and we appointed twelve captains among them. And God said: I am with yet, if ye (but) establish regular prayers, practice regular charity, believe in my apostles, honor and assist them, and loan to God a beautiful loan, verily. I will wipe out from yon your evils and admit you to gardens with rivers flowing beneath. But if any of you after this resisteth faith, he hath truly wandered from path of rectitude" 5:12.
Ex., xix: 7-8: "Moses called for the elders of the people ... and all the people answered together and said: All that the Lord hath spoken we will do."

wrong [1]. The moral Covenant is not necessarily a written one, on stones, feather or walls. It doesn't need an Ark because it is written in the heart of mankind. It is not a sacrificial animal or mixing the blood but an absolute adherence to the moral law. It has no material mark like a Sabbath or circumcision but an internal engagement to virtue.

Three terms are used in the Qur'an to give the meaning of Covenant: Mithaq, which means bound or covenant, 'Ahd which means treaty or covenant, and Wa'd which means promise, threat, appointment or covenant. Derivatives of the same term "Covenant" have been used another 9 times to assign any other kind of bond between two sides. The term does not assign exclusively a particular covenant between God and Abraham often renewed by the patriarchs and the prophets, but it means any kind of bond, material or (most of the time) moral. The verb Wathaqa means to bind two things together. Belief binds God to man and man to God. A bond can be material, as in punishment when the hands are tied together or when somebody is imprisoned. The substantive Wathaq means bond [2]. The adjective Wathaqa means strong and indestructible [3]. The noun Mauthiq means oath and swear, a single word to give and to maintain, without any material content [4]. The same idea is expressed by other terms like promise (Wa'd or Ahd) without any reference to a particular

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(1) "So he resolved to remove them from the face of the earth, but We did drown him and all who were with him. And We said there after to the children of Israel : Dwell securely in the world..." 17:103-4. "And be steadfast in prayer, practice regular charity and bow down your heads with those who bow down" 2:43.

(2) "And his bonds will be such as none (other) can bind" 89:26. "At length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly (on them)" 47:4.

(3) "Whoever rejects evil and believe in God hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold, that never breaks" 2:256. "Whoever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good has grasped indeed the most trustworthy hand-hold" 31:22.

(4) "(Jacob) said: Never will I send him with you until ye swear a solemn oath to me, in God's name, that ye will be sure to bring him back to me unless ye are yourselves hemmed in (and made, powerless). And when they had sworn their solemn oath he said: Over all that we say, be God the witness and the guardian" 12:66. "The leader among them said: Know ye not that your father did take an oath from you, in God's name" 12:80.

covenant in time and space. The term 'Ahd is used 24 times out of 46 in the sense of a moral convent [1].

This moral Covenant is to fulfill. Revelation is a simple reminder for mankind to fulfill this moral Covenant. All the 24 times out of 46 where the term 'Ahd is used in the sense of Covenant, it instigates mankind to fulfill it and not to break it [2]. The Covenant here is a simple oath and a moral engagement. Those who fulfill their oaths are models of a life of virtue, and their words can be often heard [3].

The term 'Ahd is used in the sense of a promise about 6 times out of 46 but never in a genealogical sense even in the case of Abraham [4]. This meaning is asserted very strongly by the uses of the term Wa'd

(1) "And we covenanted with Abraham and Isma'il that they should sanctify My house for those who compass it round, or use it as a retreat, or bow or prostrate themselves" 2:125. "Amongst them are men who made a covenant with God that if He bestowed on them of His bounty, tiny would give in charity and be truly amongst those who are righteous" 9:75.

(2) "Then anyone who violates his oath, does so to the harm of his own soul, and anyone who fulfills what he has covenanted with God. God will soon grant him a great reward" 48:10. "Fulfill the covenant of God when ye have entered into it, and break not your oaths after ye have confirmed them" 16:91. "And fulfill the covenant of God..." 6:152. "Those who fulfill the covenant of God and fail not in their plighted word" 13:20. "And who is more faithful to his covenant than God?" 9:111. "And these who respect their trusts and covenants" 70:32. "Those who faithfully observe their trusts and their covenants" 23:8. "They are those with whom thou didst make a covenant but they break their covenant every time and they have not the tear (of God)" 8:5S. "Is it not that every time they make a covenant some party among them throw it aside? Nay, most of them are faithless" 2:100. "And yet they had already covenanted with God not to turn their backs, and a covenant with God must (surely) be answered for" 33:15. "Those who break God's covenant after it is ratified..." 2:27. "Most of them found not men (true) to their covenant but most of them we found rebellious and disobedient" 7:102. "But those who break the covenant of God after having plight word thereto..." 13:25. "Nor sell the covenant of Cod for a miserable price ..." 16:95. "They are those with whom thou didst make a covenant but they break their covenant every time and make a covenant they have not the fear (of God) 8:56. "But if they violate their oaths after their covenant... " 9:12.

(3) "None shall have the power of intercession, but such a one as has received permission (promise) from God Most Gracious" 19:87.

(4) "And remember that Abraham was tried by his Lord with certain commands, which he fulfilled. He said: I will make thee an Imam to the nations. He pleaded: And also from my off spring! He answered: But my promise is not within the reach of evil doers" 2:124.

which means literally and even terminologically promise rather than the term 'Ahd. The term Wa'd is used 117 times in the sense of promise out of 157 times. That means it signifies essentially promise. But the promise is not material. There is no promised Land, prosperity or wealth.

The term Wa'd which means promise is used 151 times, 117 of these meanings the fast judgment. The promise is what God has announced during the human life on the tongue of the prophets, that there will be a Last Day when all mankind will be judged (1). The fulfillment of the promise means that in the Last Day humans will see the event and they will know that what God promised was true. The promise here is not a material reward, a land, children or wealth but the reality of the Truth and the event of the World (2). The only absolute and true promise is that of God. because God fulfills His promise and maintains the Word. The true promise is against the illusory one (3).

(1) "This what Most Gracious had promised and true was the word of the Apostles" 36:52. "This is what God and His Apostles told us what was true" 33:22. "He (Isma'il) was true to what be promised" 19:54. "Never think that God will fail His Apostles in His promise" 14:47. "Our Lord, grant us what thou didst promise unto us through thine Apostle..." 3:194.

(2) "... We have indeed found the promises of our Lord to be true" 7:44. "It was God who gave you a promise of truth. I (Satan) too promised but I failed in my promise to you" 14:22. All that hath been promised to you will come to pass" 6:134. "Far, very far is that which ye are promised" 23:26. "Verily that which you are promised is true" 51:5. "Assuredly, what ye are promised must come to pass" 77:7. "A promise of truth which was made, to them" 46:16. "God's promise is the truth, and whose word can be truer than God's?" 4:122. "The promise of God is true and sure" 10:4. "... Is it not that God's promise is assuredly true?" 10:5S. "There a promise not to be belied" 11:65. "It God who gave you a promise of truth" 14:22. "Truly has the promise of our Lord been fulfilled" 17:108. "... That they might know that the promise of God is true" 28:15. "Never does God' depart from His promise" 30:6. "For verily the promise of God is true" 30:60, 31:9, 31:33, 35:5, 40:55, 40:77, 45:32, 46:17, 11:38, 11:45. "A promise we have undertaken. Truly shall We fulfill it" 21:104. "His promise needs must be accomplished" 73:1S. "A promise to be prayed for from thy Lord" 25:15. "God has indeed fulfilled His promise to you" 3:152. "For His promise must come to pass" 19:61. "But God will not fail in His promise" 22:47, 30:6. "Praise be to God who has truly fulfilled His promise" 39:74. "God never fails in His promise" 3:9, 3:19, 13:21, 39:20.

(3) "The hypocrites and those in whose hearts there is a disease say: God and His Apostle promised us nothing but delusions!" 33:12. "Satan makes them promises, and creates in them false desires. But Satan's promises are nothing but deception" 4:120, 17:64.

What God promises is the Last Judgment, that there will be an end for the world and the day of resurrection. The promise here is the fact of returning back [(1)]. The indetermination of time requires from man always to be ready for a judgment [(2)]. In the Last Judgment the promise will be of two kinds: a good promise for good deeds, and an evil promise for bad deeds. The good promise is forgiveness, felicity, beatitude, all what is always represented by the image of Paradise [(3)]. The evil promise is the destruction of vices and all kinds of non-truth on Earth. It is also represented by the image of Hell and eternal punishment [(4)]. That is why in 20 of the 151 times where the term Wa'd is used it means threat, warning or punishment [(5)]. Promise in the

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(1) "Does he promise that when ye die and become dust and bones, ye shall be brought forth?" 23:35. "Such things have been promised to us and to our fathers before!" 23:83, 27:68.

(2) "But I know not whether that which ye are promised is near or far" 21:109. "Say: I know not whether that which ye are promised is near or whether my Lord will appoint for it a distant hour" 72:25. "They cry: When will this promise come to pass, if you am telling the truth?" 10:48, 21:38, 27:71, 34:29, 36:45, 67:25.

(3) "Unto all hath God promised good" 4:95, 57:10. "Are those alike? One to whom We have made a goodly promise, and who is going to reach it, and one to whom We have given the good, things of life, but who, on the Day of Judgment, is to be among those brought up" 28:61. "Did not your Lord make a handsome promise to you?" 20:86. "To those who believe and do deeds of righteousness hath God promised forgiveness and a great reward" 5:9, 48:29. "God has promised to believers, men and women, gardens under which rivers, flow to dwell therein..." 9:72. "Gardens of Eternity, those which Most Gracious has promised to His servants" 19:61. "And grant, our Lord! that they enter Gardens of Eternity which thou hast promised to them and to the righteous among their fathers, their wives and their posterity" 40:8. "The garden which the righteous are promised, beneath it flow rivers" 13:35, 47:15, 39:20. "Is that best, or the Eternal. Garden, promised to the righteous?" 25:15. "But, receive the glad tidings of the garden which you were promised" 41:30. "And in Heaven is your sustenance as that which ye are promised" 51:21.

(4) "But when the promise of my Lord comes to pass, He will make it into dust" 18:98. "In the end We fulfilled to them promise and We saved them and those whom We pleased. But We destroyed those who transgressed beyond the bounds" 21:9. "God hath promised the hypocrisies, men and women, and the rejectors of faith the fire of Hell..." 9:68. "It is fire God has promised to, the unbelievers..." 22:72. "And verily, Hell is the promised abode for them all." 15:43.

(5) "Bring us what thou threatenest us with, if so be that thou tellest the town" 7:70, 7:77, 11:32, 44:22. "The Evil One threatens you with poverty and bids you to conduct unseemly" 2:268. "And squat not on every road, breathing threats" 7:86. "And we are certainly able to show thee that against which they are warned" 23:95. "This is the Hell of which ye were warned" 36:63. "When the first of the warnings came to pass..." 17:5. "When the second of the warnings came to pass" 17:7, 17:104.

meaning of threat can be given by anyone else, e.g. the Evil One. The Wa'd becomes Wa'd, which means literally warning [1].

4. The Broken Covenant. But the result of this Covenant was miserable. Obedience to the Commandment of God did not occur. There was deliberate disobedience rather than obedience. The Covenant was broken. In 6 of the 25 times where the term Covenant is used the reference is to the broken Covenant [2]. It was broken by constant and permanent disobedience to God. First, the children of Israel did not obey the Prophet. They even poisoned some and killed another. They did not communicate the words of God. and they even altered them deliberately [3]. They never believed in God and His Absolute Attributes. During the absence of Moses, they worshipped the golden calf. They even wanted to see God face to face, believing that God can be seen. Secondly, they disobeyed the Prophets and refused to follow them and to defend the words of God on Earth, which is the natural result of a good faith [4]. Thirdly, they transgressed the Torah

(1) "...And explained therein detail some of the warnings" 20:113. "That will be a day whereof warning" 50:20. "I had already in advance sent you warning" 50:28. "And my warning was duly fulfilled" 50:14.

(2) "But every time we removed the penalty from them according to a fixed term which they had to fulfill, behold! they broke their word!" 7:134. "And cover not truth with falsehood nor conceal the truth when ye know" 2:47.

(3) "We took the covenant of the children of Israel and sent them Apostles. Every time there came to them an Apostle with what they themselves desired not, some (of these) they called imposters and some they slew" 5:70. "And remember God took a covenant from the people of the book to make it known and clear to mankind and not to hide it. But they threw it away behind their backs and purchased with it some miserable gain! And evil was the bargain they made! 3:187. "After them succeeded an (evil) generation. They inherited the Book. but they chose the vanities of this world saying: (Everything) will be forgiven us, (even so) if similar vanities came their way, they would (again) seize them. Was not the covenant of the Book taken from them, that they would not ascribe to God anything but the truth" 7:169. "But because of their breach of their covenant, We cursed them and made their heads grow hard. They change the words from their (right) places and forget a good part of the message that was sent them..." 5:13.

(4) "But when they were commanded to fight, they turned back" 2:246. "O my people enter the holy land which God hath assigned unto you and turn not back, ignominiously for then will be overthrown to your own ruin. They said: O Moses! In this land strength. Never shall we enter it until are a people of exceeding they leave It. If they leave then =

and deviated from the Law [1]. They even altered the Law and made it more strict than it was through hypocrisy [2]. Fourthly, they missed the moral law and the practice of virtue, which is the essence of the Covenant. They had a hard heart and they did mischief on Earth [3]. That is why they were condemned by most of their Prophets to the extent that the holy Bible can be called a history of damnation and malediction (curses of the Covenant, Deut, 24:5) rather than a history of benediction and salvation [4].

= shall we enter. Among God fearing men were two on whom God had bestowed His Grace. They said: Assault them at the gate. When once ye are in, victory will be yours. But on God put your trust if you have faith. They said: O Moses! While they remain there never shall we be able to enter, to the end of time. Go thou and thy Lord, and fight ye two, while we sit here. He said: O my lord! I have power only over myself and my brothers. So separate us from this rebellious people. God said: Therefore will the land be out of their reach for forty years. In distraction will they wander through the land. But sorrow thou not over those rebellious people" 5:21-26.

(1) "And for their covenant We raised over them (the towering height) of Mount (Sinai) and We said: Enter the gate with humility. And We commanded them: Transgress not in the matter of the Sabbath. and We took from them a solemn covenant. In that they broke their covenant, that they rejected the signs of God, that they slew the messengers in defiance of right" 4:154-5. "And remember we took your covenant: Shed no blood amongst you, nor turn out your own people from your homes. And this ye solemnly ratified and to this ye can bear witness. After this it is ye, the same people, who slay among yourselves, and banish a party of you from their homes, assist (their enemies) against them, in guilt and rancour. And if they come to you as captives, ye ransom them though it was not lawful for you to banish them" 2:84-5. "And remember We took your covenant and We raised above you of Mount. Hold firmly to what We have given you and bring to remembrance what is therein. Perchance ye may fear God. But ye turned back thereafter.. And well ye knew more amongst you who transgressed in the matter of Sabbath" 2:63-5. "And remember We took your covenant and We raised above you of Mount. Hold firmly to what We have given you, and hearken. They said. We bear and we also obey. And they had to drink into their hearts of the calf because of their faithlessness 2.93.

(2) "All food was lawful to the children of Israel except what Israel made unlawful for itself, before the Law was revealed. Say: Bring ye the Law and study it if ye be men of truth." 3:93.

(3) But because of their breach of their covenant, We cursed them and made their hearts grow hard..." 5:13. "In that they broke their covenant... that they said: Our hearts are the wrapping Nay, God hath set the seal on their hearts for their blasphemy" 4.155. "And We gave warning to the children of Israel in the Book that twice would they do mischief on the earth and be elected with mighty arrogance" 17:4.

(4) "Curses were pronounced on those among the children of Israel who rejected faith by the tongue of David and of Jesus the son of Mary, because they also obeyed and persisted in excesses" 5:71.

Berith itself comes from ***bara*** which means to cut. In the OT, the term Covenant is used 255 times, 53 of which refer to the broken Covenant. The Covenant was broken, forgotten, profaned, forsaken, transgressed, disobeyed, not kept, dealt falsely with, not steadfast with, made void, despised and corrupted. The broken Covenant is declared by the Prophets, especially the last ones, as the final result of the experience.

5. The Remnant. But there is the remnant, members of a small group who could extract themselves from the general disobedience of the people and could obey God, fulfill His promise and maintain the stipulations of the Covenant from their side [(1)]. They indicate the presence of truth on Earth and even the courage to announce it in spite of all kinds of danger. They indicate also the presence of the individual dimension outside the categories of group, people. community, tribe, children, family ...etc. Finally they show the presence of the natural light in man and the autonomy of his will. The human consciousness affirms his existence as awareness and shows the successful result of the long experience of revelation, which has one goal, the independence of human consciousness.

6. The New Covenant. The new Covenant was the last for the children of Israel to believe in God, to obey His commands and to practice virtue. It is not an eternal Covenant fulfilled from God's side to anyone by a mere belief in a new prophet but a continuation of the previous Covenant with the same condition and with the same results, acceptance of some and rejection of others [(2)]. And even the

(1) "...nor wilt thou cease to find them-barring a few-ever bent on (new) deceit"5:13. "And little is it they believe" 4:155. "And a witness from among the children of Israel testifies to its similarity, and has believed while ye are arrogant" 46:10. "Among God-fearing men there were two on whom God had bestowed His grace..." 5:23.

(2) "And appointed him (Jesus) an Apostle to the children of Israel" 5.49. "Then a portion of the children of Israel believed and a portion disbelieved" 61.14. ."They do blaspheme who say: God is Christ the son of Mary. But said Christ: O children of Israel Worship God, my Lord and your Lord" 5:72. "And behold I did not restrain the children of Israel from thee when thou, didst show them the clear signs, and the unbelievers among them said: This is nothing but evident magic" 5:110. "He (Jesus) was no more than a servant. We granted our favor to him, and We made him an example to the children of Israel" 43:59.

new believers in the new prophet retained a part of the Covenant and forgot the other part (1). The Qur'an, containing, the Islamic revelation, is itself a part of the Covenant. As an authentic book, historically speaking, it can be considered as a criterion of divergences in the other holy Scriptures, texts or commentaries. It admits and confirms the preceding revelations still rejected by the children of Israel as a part of their whole rejection of the Covenant (2).

Adam broke the Covenant but he repented and God forgave him (3). Human nature is Innocent of every inherited sin. Adam was responsible only for his sin. Every human being is responsible for his. Human nature is good rather than bad. It is ready for either good or evil, only human free will can dispose one of them. Original sin is outside individual responsibility. That is why there is no room for any salvation by the other. Every one can save himself by himself, by his own deeds. What passivity of man between original sin and salvation. Somebody sins for him and somebody else saves him, and he is between them sinful and saved! Mediation redemption, salvation, all these categories are forged by dogmatic theology inaugurated by Paul, who was motivated by a sense of guilt toward the Christians and his persecution of them, by his inferiority complex towards the

(1) "From those who call themselves Christians We did take a covenant, but they forget a good part of the message We sent to them. So We estranged them, with enmity and hatred between the one and the other, to the day of judgment. And soon will God show them what it is they have done" 5..'14.

(2) "And believe in what I reveal, confirming the revelation which is with You, and be not the first reject forth therein, nor sell my signs for a small peace, and fear me and me alone" 2:4. "Is it (the Qur'an) not a sign to them that the learned of the children of Israel Knew it (as true)?" 26:197. "Verily, this Qur'an doth explain to the children of Israel most of the matters in which they disagree" 27:76. "And remember Jesus, the son of Mary, said: O children of Israel! I am the Apostle of God to you, confirming the Law before me, and giving glad tidings of an Apostle to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmed.* But when he came to them whith clear signs, the said. This is evident sorcery" 61:6.

* The praised one, Translation of the Greek word ***pariclytos***.

In John xiv:16, xv:26, xvi.7 ***paraclytos*** means Advocate, a corrupted reading of the Creek word. Y. Ali. note 5438. p. 1540.

(3) "We had already, beforehand, taken the covenant of Adam, but he forgot, and We found on his part no firm resolve" 20:115.

disciples and those who had seen the Master, and by his own character: passion, aggression, violence, rhetoric and apology. Salvation by the Church or the Synagogue is a pure justification for the authority of the Establishment. Jesus himself never pronounced one word on the Covenant. It is mentioned once in Luke, in the prayer of Zachary to remember the holy Covenant, and twice in the Acts, once in the acts of Peter and once in Stephen's speech, as a particular Covenant in the flesh marked by circumcision [1]. All the other usages are from Paul (about 17 times) and most of them (11 times) in the Letter to the Hebrews.

7. The Universal Covenant. The Covenant now is a universal, conditional and moral one [2]. It is universal for all mankind, not given to a particular ethnic group as in the beginning of the experience of revelation. It is offered for every people and even for every individual without any distinction of race, color, geographical or historical determinations. It is conditional because of its contractual meaning. In the previous experience, the Covenant was broken from the human side. But God because of His mercy did not break it from His side in order to give humans occasions for the fulfillment of the Covenant from their side. The last experience was of Jesus, but the Covenant was also broken. whether by those who didn't believe in Jesus or by those who believed in him by words and not by deeds, or changed, his words and submitted them to their passions, personal desires and interests.

(1) Luke 1:72, Acts 3:25, 7:8.

(2) "Those who fulfill the covenant of God and fail not in their plighted word" 13:20. "What cause have ye why ye should not believe in God? And the Apostle invites you to believe in your Lord, and has indeed taken your covenant if you are men in faith" 57:8. "Those who break God's covenant after it is ratified, and who sunder what God has ordered to be joined, and do mischief on earth, these cause loss to themselves" 2:27. "Those who break the covenant of God, after having plighted their word thereto and cut asunder those things which God has commanded to be joined, and work mischief in the land. For them is the terrible home!" '13:25. "And call in remembrance the favor of God unto you and His covenant which He ratified with you when ye said: We hear and we obey". 5:7. "Those who believe and those who follow the Jewish and the Christians and the Sabians, anyone who believes in God and the Last Day and works righteousness shall have their reward" 2:62.

After this eminent experience, God and man, the universal Man, became the two contractors of the Covenant. If it is maintained by Man it will be maintained by God, and if it is loosed by Man it will be loosed also by God. Man, then, is the motive force of the continuation and the fulfillment of the Universal Covenant. The Covenant still has its eternal meaning, the moral meaning, doing righteousness and practicing virtue. This universal conditional and moral Covenant is the only way to succession on the Land.



God. Community and Land

An Islamic Approach

It is easy for every community to interpret its tradition for its own benefit. The Jews can easily understand the Old Testament to affirm what they want, and can use the past to serve the present and the future. Christians can do the same. They can twist the New Testament to assert what they wish to assert. And Moslems can be in that position, too. They can present a hermeneutics making the Qur'an the great defender of the actual desires and hopes of the Muslim community and deducing from it justification, even if not the only one, for desires, for expansion and domination. It is very easy for every community to construct reality according to its own desires and to read backward into its own scriptures the historical and religious justifications for its needs.

If this happens, a community project itself into the Scripture and finds in it its own identity and even ethnicity. Human desires serve as bases for the interpretation of the Revelation and God's Will is founded on human passions. We destroy the objectivity and the universality of the Scriptures and we make from them a simple annex to human relativities and particularities. We Know From the past how horrible were these processes of submitting the Holy Word to our subjectivities. Religion served as a simple justification of political

(*) In, Peoples and conflict in the Middle Fast, A Preliminary Report for study. The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia Pa, 1973.

goals. Religion in the hands of humans, became a simple camouflage of real desires. God followed secondarily the promptings of human passions. Religion was once, for instance, the bastion of feudalism, capitalism, and racism. It was an easy and effective justification for oppression in justice and war. When will we stop to make from religion a screen for our desires. a mask to cover our passions?

The Scriptures contain both pros and cons. We can find in the Bible verses ratifying the Covenant as well as other verses breaking the Covenant. Which ones are reliable? There are verses regarding election and promise and others regarding rejection and curse. Which are to be chosen? We take those which are in our favor and reject those which are against us. Again, human subjectivism!

And above all, the Bible, as we know from Biblical criticism expresses the mentality of ancient Hebrews. The Bible is a record of the national history of the Hebrews intermingled with the words of God. It is as difficult to distinguish between history and revelation, as it is impossible to distinguish between Jesus of faith and Jesus of history. There is no guarantee that certain verses of the Bible contain the words of God rather than express the hope and despair of the Hebrew tribes. Every verse has to be understood in its historical context and according to its ***Sitz im Leben*** ("life-situation"). From this perspective, the Land expresses the desire of the nomadic tribes for settlement, the hope of the "Bedouin" for a sedentary life but not in relation to a special Land. The Covenant may be a projection stemming from human treaties between ancient tribes, with all attendant ceremonies (e.g., shedding blood), or from the relation between the Hebrew tribes and God with similar ceremonies (e.g., circumcision). Both covenants fill the role of providing strength and protection. All the theology involved might be understood from the perspective of sociology of knowledge.

Things become worse if this subjective theology serves the formation of myths, and if myths afterwards work in history to deform it and cause it to deviate from its course. We know from the history

of mankind how disastrous was the adverse influence of certain myths: the supremacy of Athens or Sparta., the supremacy of the Roman or the Persian Empire; the supremacy of the Aryan race or the priority of Germania. Humanity suffered much from these myths; the holocaust is the most recent example.

How, then can we aid in the formation of new myths of "Return"? We will lead human history into chaos if the Europeans have to return to Central Asia from which they stemmed as Indo-European immigrants; if all the Arabs have to leave their own countries and return back to the Arabian Peninsula; if all the Americans have to leave their countries, return to the Continent. and leave America to the Indians; if the Whites in Australia have to return to Europe. Immigration, human flux and human movement in history are irreversible. Distortions may lead to the division of mankind into races, colors. and ethnicities, related to each other by war and struggle. Not one community would survive.

It is difficult, moreover, to determine which community dwelt for the first time in a place. The Canaanites lived before the Hebrews in Palestine, and the Hebrews conquered them and dwelt in their place. Who are the Canaanites now, Arabs or Jews? Jerusalem had no particular significance for the Hebrews before David.

What is more, who guarantees the purity of a race and its continuity in history? Who can prove that the Germans are actually descendants of the ancient Germanic tribes? Who can affirm that the Arabs are truly descendants of the ancient tribes of Arabia? Who can aver that the Jews, immigrants to or residents of Palestine are the descendants of the twelve Hebrew tribes? The "continuity of race" is a myth, pure racialism and the most horrible ethno-centrism that has ever existed. How dangerous this is for the survival of the nations! The double loyalty of the Jews for nations in which they are born, lived, and for Israel may destroy the nations and may lead to treachery. Dreyfus was the most spectacular example. How dangerous this is for the Palestinians who are born and have lived in Palestine for

centuries and suddenly are thrown out of their land to make room for immigrants. Religion is not citizenship. Religion is a direct relation between man and God. Citizenship is another kind of relation between man and the state.

That is why in Islam the relation between God, community, and land is defined in an objective way, beyond all human passions. God's Word and its realization in human vocation is an objective truth completely independent of particular interests. It is a truth which leaves no occasion for subjective interpretation. This is a condition of universalism and of the unity of all humans around one truth independent of their inclinations and particular desires. Heaven and earth together are created by truth and founded on truth. "If the truth had been in accord with their desires, truly the Heavens and the Earth and all being therein would have been in confusion and corruption." (Our'an 23:71.) Earth is sensible to truth. It shrinks from non-truth. Human plotting, and the deviation from truth through sophistication will never lead to objective truth independent of human passions. Heaven's truth, earth's truth, and human truth are the same.

God is the only owner of the Land. Without dwelling or being in the Land, He is nevertheless the only one who can attribute the Land to himself. No human can pretend that he possesses the Land, because Land is not an object of personal possession for an individual or a community and is in the category of "being", not of "having". Land is the Earth, the whole Land. God is also, as a natural consequence of his ownership, the only inheritor of the Land. (See the same idea in Deuteronomy 28:63, Jeremiah 12:14). Man can inherit only his good deeds. Man is born on the Land and dies on it. He comes and leaves Everything behind him.

Man is the vicegerent of God on earth. A vicegerent is more than a simple representative. God gave the truth and left for man the task of fulfilling it on earth. Vicegerency is the commitment of man to practice virtue, to be just, and not to do any harm on earth. If man fulfills his task he will join the succession of God, the Prophets and the

believers, and will inherit the Land. Vicegerency means succession and inheritance. It is the deposit or the trust which God gave to man and which has been refused by all creatures except by man. The answer to this trust is practical: Only man, by his deeds can prove his worthiness of this responsibility. The good deeds are the only appropriate reflection of God's deity. Those who are on the Land and maintain it are those who practice righteousness and do good deeds.

The Land is given, in the nature of things, to those who obey God. The inhabitants of the Land are not a people assigned forever in fulfillment of a promise, an absolute right or principle. The right is non-assigned, temporal, possible, may-happen-or-not, a posteriori and purely conditional. Inheritance of the Land means a simple succession of people, succession of those who obey God and do good deeds. There is no eternal inheritance or everlasting succession as a vested right from the time of the Fathers. There is no homeland or "right of return" because there is no rational right except as a myth.

The Covenant which God ratified with Mankind is not material, but purely spiritual and moral. The messages of all the Prophets were messages of virtue and moral life. "Behold! God took the Covenant of the prophets saying: I give you a book and wisdom..." (Qur'an 3:81). A material promise was never an essential part of Revelation, but followed indirectly from obedience to God. Ethics of "punishment and reward" are really ethics of slaves. Man should obey God's Will, following the moral law. not in order to obtain reward or to avoid punishment, but to express the good essence of mall through piety and virtue. The material promise was a simple inducement to believe in God. The only valid promise is that of Prophethood, that man is capable to be vicegerent of God on earth. In that sense, there is an election. not on the basis of genealogical characteristics in any assigned community or special favor that God bestowed arbitrarily, but on the basis of the realization of God's Will, that is "virtue," on earth. "And remember took a covenant from the children of Israel: Worship none but God; We treat with kindness your parents and kindred and orphans and those in need; speak fair to the people; be steadfast in prayer;

and practice regular charity..."(Qur'an 2:83.) In the Bible the Covenant is also described as a Covenant of peace. (Num. 25:12; Ezek. 34:23; Isa. 54:1O.) Covenant of priesthood. (Num. 25:13: Neb. 13:14.) Covenant of Mercy, (Neb. 1:5; Dan. 9:6; Deut 7:9.) and brotherly Covenant. (Amos 1:9.)

The Covenant between God and man is contractual, not ontological in blood and flesh. As long as the Covenant is fulfilled on both sides, the contract remains in force. But if one side forsake the stipulations, the other side is free and also has the right to forsake his. "Children of Israel! Call to mind the favor which I bestowed upon you, and fulfill your covenant with me as I fulfill my covenant with you, and tear none but me. "(Qur'an 2;60). The same meaning appears also sometimes in the Bible: "If you will obey... and keep my Covenant.." (Ex. 19:5). "Keep the Sabbath for a perpetual covenant (Ex. 31:16). There is a constant exhortation to keep the Covenant and to remember it. (Gen. 19:16, Ex. 6:5; Lev. 26:42; Deut. 29:9: Neb. 1:5; Ps. 74:20; Ezek. 16:59-60). If that does not happen, the Covenant is broken and becomes null and void. That is why "Covenant" can also mean "treaty" (between two persons or communities, in marriage or mutual defense).

In Hebrew, Berith (covenant) is also synonymous to "Law". The Haggadah treats the Covenant with Abraham in the contractual sense. God showed Abraham Gehenna and domination by the nations on one side, and the revelation on Mt. Sinai and the service in the Temple on the other and said: "If your children honor these last two (the Tomb and Worship), they shall be spared the first two. If not, the Temple shall be destroyed and you may now choose between suffering under the heathen and suffering in Gehenna as the punishment of your descendants." (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 4, p. 321).

The result of the Covenant was miserable. Obedience to the commandments of God did not occur. The Covenant was broken. Berith itself Comes from ***bara*** which means to cut. The Bible says: The Covenant was broken, forgotten, profaned, forsaken, transgressed, obeyed, not kept, dealt falsely with, not maintained steadfastly, made

void, despised and corrupted. The broken Covenant was described by the Prophets, especially the latter ones, as the final result of long experience. Only the remnant who practiced the moral law and kept the Covenant of virtue were the signs of the presence of Truth on Earth. from this remnant came Jesus, but he was put to death as were other Prophets.

The Covenant now is universal, conditional and moral. It is universal for all mankind, not given to a particular ethnic group. It is offered for every people and even every for individual without any distinction of race, color, geographical or historical origins. It is conditional because of its contractual meaning. In previous experience, the Covenant was broken from the human side, But God, because of his mercy, did not sever it form his side. in order to give humans more occasions for its fulfillment form their side. The last experience was that of Jesus, but there the Covenant was also broken, either by those who did not believe in him, or by those who believed in him in word only, and not in deed,

God and Man are the two parties to the Covenant. If it is maintained by Man, it will be maintained by God. If discarded by Man, it will be discarded also by God. Man is the agent of the continuation and fulfillment of the universal Covenant. The Covenant still has its eternal meaning, the moral meanings: doing righteousness and practicing virtue. The universal, conditional and moral Covenant is the only way to succession in the Land. "Those who believe (in the Qur'an) and those who follow the Jewish (Scriptures), and the Christians, and the Sabians, any who believe in God and the last day and work righteousness shall have their reward." (Qur'an 2:62.)

The universal moral dimension which appears in Islam as the only possible relation between God, man and society expresses the essence of revelation from Abraham till Jesus. In the Old Testament the universalistic trend was always intertwined with the ethno-centric trend. It reached its peak in the Prophets, who acclaimed the purity of God's unity and made an appeal to the moral law against the evils

of Israel. threatening catastrophes, subjugation and exile, The Haggadah continued this universal moral trend and presented an "internal" Judaism, based on piety and fear of God. In the Middle Ages, under the Arab reign in Spain, Maimonides conceived of a rational, universal and moral Judaism. In modern times, Spinoza and Mendelson made the same claim: Religion of Reason, Law written in the heart, and freedom for all humans in a free democracy. The Jewish Haskalah (Enlightemnent) expressed the same spirit, trusting in Reason, Progress, and Human Freedom. In the last century, the Jewish tradition called for equality and social justice and gave great impetus to the revolutionary, spirit of the century. And now the Jewish "left" assumes and conserves the essence of Judaism, the struggle for freedom of peoples everywhere, the defense of human equality for all the oppressed.

Unfortunately, as the opposite of Islamic Universalism, Zionism took birth in the nineteenth century and turned universal moral Judaism upside down, pushing the ethno-centric trend to its peak. Zionists doesn't express the "Ethics of the Fathers." The first Zionism were pure "revivalists" of the Jewish tradition. The Jewish heritage is a spiritual one and the Jews are the pioneers of spirit in history wherever they are. The second Zionist generation deviated, from spiritual "revivalism" to material settlement on a land, any land. Then came the third generation, claiming Palestine as the only possible Land.

Zionism began as an intense expression of European nationalism and chauvinism of the nineteenth century. During this time, the Jews were rejected by every nationality: German, Russian, Italian, or East-European (except for France where, the opportunity was offered to the Jews to become citizens). The French Jews refused this citizenship because of the fear of assimilation (although this danger was never really there, Judaism being a spiritual heritage of mankind).

At the same time, romanticism called for the realm of the spirit and the kingdom of Heaven on Earth, and glorified the idea of return to the Holy Land, symbol of the spirit. Added to nationalism and romanticism, racialism claimed purity of race and Gobineau became

the ideologue hero of the time. The Jews looked also for purity of race.

Finally, after the formation of European nations, and the industrial revolution, Europe expanded outside its boundaries, seeking more land, more resources, and more cheap labor in Africa and Asia. The European Jews did the same. They sought a land outside Europe and it was between Africa and Asia, Palestine. The persecution of the Jews all over Europe, whether for their good deeds (as with the revolutionaries) or for their bad deeds (Dreyfus). peaked in the most horrible holocaust in history under the Nazis, and determined that the solution would be the location of the race in another land. The Ottoman Empire, obscurantist, backward, and weak, was described as the "ill-man". Every great power wanted a member of his body after his death. That is what happened between the two world wars. Palestine had been colonized by Great Britain and, all the Arab lands divided between Britain and France. Colonization, whether "external" (by the great powers) or "internal" (by the kings and feudalists) brought ignorance, underdevelopment and backwardness. There is no race, white or whatever, which is destinated for progress while another race, black or whatever, is damned forever to "underdevelopment." Historical processes and social factors make societies progress or regress. Without the European brain and European capital, Israel would have been in the same condition as the rest of the area. The Arabs had a "Golden Age" in the Middle Ages (which was also shared by the Jews!).

What about the present and the future? How can a human. drama of two million Palestinian refugees be solved? How can we solve a problem, the persecution of European Jews, by creating an other, the Palestinian refugees? Why do the Palestinians have to pay the high price for what Europeans have done? Freedom and justice have to be given to every human and to every community without any distinction of color, race, or religion. This is the spirit of God. The creation of the State of Israel has not solved one problem, that

of the Jews. Yet it has made another for the Palestinians and the Arabs.

Some of the last Zionists, such as Judah L. Magnes and Martin Buber, began to doubt. The new nations of the Third World have enough economic problems and are not able to spend most of their national revenue for military equipment. The new nations of the Third World share politics of neutrality between the two blocs, and help all those who are struggling for national independence. Israel is considered by its neighbors as a prolongation of Western imperialism in the Middle East, as well as a source of new imperialism through its expansionism and avidity for annexation of new land. Israel is a white European implantation in the Middle East, similar to the white European in South Africa. The Oriental and Arab Jews were living in the Arab World as Arab citizens, not as second class citizens as in Israel.

The only solution for the future in Palestine is a secular, democratic, and free state where all humans can live without distinction of color, race or religion. "Palestine" a multireligious, multiracial and multicolored state is the only possible hope for the future.



Zionism as a Counter Liberation Movement

It has always been said that Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. It has been identified here in America with the black or the Chicano liberation movements. It tries desperately to convince the representatives of liberation movements its in the Western world. It tries surreptitiously to infiltrate Africa as one of the liberation movements and regards itself as belonging to the Third World. But, as soon as these liberation movements become aware of themselves ideologically as well as practically, they find that Zionism comes far short of its pretensions. Moreover, they discover the anti-liberation nature of Zionism. Nowadays. in almost all of Africa, Zionism is labeled as a counter-liberation movement and an imperialist agent.

To summarize, the following evidence may be presented:

1. A liberation movement is never based on Race. It is a socio-political movement which expresses a situation of political oppression or economic exploitation. It is the revolt of man as such threatened by moral or physical annihilation. Freedom expresses the essence of man

(*) Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. Sixth Annual Convention October 19-12, 1973. National Liberation and Settler Regimes and the Middle-East, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.

regardless of his belonging to a particular race. Being and Belonging are two opposites. The Human Being is normally identified through his affiliation to a Principal or to an Idea, not to biological descendence. The adjective "National" sometimes added to "liberation movement" does not mean in any way "Racial." A national liberation movement although called national, goes beyond the narrow boundaries of geography. language, ethnicity, culture and evidently, race.

But Zionism claims the liberation of the Jewish people as a Race. A Jew is defined not by his affiliation to a principle, monotheism or law. A Jew is he whose mother is a Jewess. The Jewish people is identified by blood. Anti-Semitism is indeed a reaction or counter-action to Hebrew separatism which is in return a reaction to western white racialism. That is why Zionism, in order to survive, needs anti-Semitism. If anti-Semitism did not exist, Zionism would have invented it. "Zionism makes no contribution to eliminating anti-Jewish racism... Zionist leaders in fact stimulate anti-Semitism... As for the Zionist leaders, they never hesitated to deal with the most prominent anti-Semites to gain their objectives"(1). Racialism does not only separate the Jews from all other human beings, it is also reflected in the structure of Zionistic society. The western white Jew, the ***Ashkinazi***, claims to be racially more pure than the oriental dark Jew, the ***Sepherdi***, and thus gives himself a superior classification and the right to separate himself from and despise the oriental Jew. The east European Jews are the WASP of America. The "Oriental Jews.... who constitute about 60 percent of the Jewish population... they are, victims of discrimination and prejudice and the subjected to all sorts of insults and injustices.. Of 120 seats in the Knesset they occupy only some 20 odd"(2).

Hebrew separation is an old assertion from Hebrew origins till the nineteenth century Zionism. It has run against the grain of Jewish

(1) Nathan Weinstock: "The Nature of Israel: The Propaganda, the Facts" in The Truth About Israel and Zionism by Nathan Weinstock and John Rothschild, p. 4-5, Pathfinder Press, 1973.

(2) Hyman Lumer: Zionism, Its Role in World Politics, p. 21, International Publisher, 1973.

genius throughout the ages, in particular against the warnings of the Prophets, the Karaites, Maimonides, Spinoza, Mendelsohn and Lessing. The offer which the French Revolution gave the Jews in France to be citizens with the same duties and the same responsibilities of all citizens has been rejected. The affiliation to the Universal Principles of the Enlightenment is considered as assimilation. The cultural and spiritual revivalism of the Jewish heritage promoted by the early Zionists namely Ahmad Ha'am has been easily defeated and quickly disappeared in front of the racial assertion. The Platform of Pittsburg tried lately to diminish the racial assertion of Zionism but without success. The New Left, the ***Matzpen***, the Black Panthers are some of new forces which are currently struggling to reject the racial assertion.

2. All liberation movements are one and the same. The universal struggle against aggression and exploitation is undivided. The liberation of Africa, of Asia and of Latin America is the same. The triumph of the people of Vietnam against American imperialism is in the same time a triumph of the national struggle of all peoples in Africa and Latin America. Guevara has already conceived the creation of many Vietnams to defeat imperialism by dividing its power. The liberation of Egypt gave the impulse to the liberation of Algeria, Syria, Iraq and Libya. The liberation of Tanzania was in the same time a strength to the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa. The liberation of Cuba was a triumph for all liberation movements in Latin America. One liberation movement is by nature never opposed to another liberation movement. Wherever this happens, it is a sure sign that the nature of that movement has changed and that sooner or later it is doomed to become an instrument used by Imperialism to defeat other liberation movements. A liberation of the self is at the same time a liberation of others.

But Zionism works against other liberation movements if not against them all. It puts itself in the service of counter-revolution. Beginning with her support of the United States in the Korean War, the list of Israel's counter-revolutionary policies is rather long: The invasion of Egypt with Britain and France in 1956; support of the

French against the Algerian Freedom Fighters whom Israel labeled as "terrorist", support of French Fascist Secret Army Organization during the Algerian War; vote against the independence of Algeria in the United Nations; opposition to the independence movements of Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia; support of the French atomic testing program in the Sahara which was opposed by the Africans; support of the Anglo-American intervention with troops in Lebanon and Jordan during the Iraqi revolution in 1958; support of Jordan's King against the Palestinian refuges and guerillas; accomplice in the murder of Lumumba; opposition to the admission of China to the United Nations; endorsement of the Eisenhower doctrine; rejection of the world's condemnation of the United States' war in Vietnam and expressing sympathy with the United States' aims carried by Dayan in his United States-sponsored trip to South Vietnam; ...etc, It was Israel that trained the colonial military force troops of Chad for action against the guerilla forces of the Chadian National Liberation Front, in Congo Kinshasa. Israel has trained colonialist paratroops, both within that country and in Israel. In 1956, 243 of such paratroops were sent to Israel for training including General Mobutu himself. In Ethiopia, Israel has trained troops to fight guerillas of the Eritrean Liberation Movement and in return has been granted military bases on islands of the Eritrean coast. In the ivory Coast, in Kenya, in Sierra Leone, Israel has been involved in providing either arms, or military training, or both. In Ghana, the Israeli presence was behind the overthrow of Nkrumah. In Uganda, till a very recent time, Israel has been assuming all military training. Israeli instructors and advisors have been involved in anti-guerilla fighting in the Portuguese colony of Angola. Servicemen from Portugal and its colonies have gone to Israel for training. Israel also supplied arms used by the colonist forces. In Nigeria Israel identifies itself with the oil-imperialism inspired cesession of Biafra. In the Middle East, Israel has worked against the Arab National Liberation Movements whose spearhead is the Palestinian National Liberation Front.

A crucial moment in history was the discussion between Two young Jewish intellectuals and leaders: Marx and Moses Hess. The

first wanted to liberate all the oppressed regardless. of color, race, religion, language or culture, but the latter wanted to liberate the Jewish people and only the Jewish people and converted to Zionism. Last year, a hundred intellectuals signed a manifesto which included the statement: "Every people that oppresses another necessarily loses its own freedom" [1]. And now "an obvious question cries out for an answer: How has it happened that Israel, which was avowedly established as a home land for the long suffering Jewish people. the perennial victims of exile, of,...racialist and religious persecution for centuries, the remnants of a nearly exterminated people during the unspeakable Nazi phase of German Imperialism how does it happen that this people wind up as an oppressor and a partner of American Imperialism against World Revolution?" [2].

3. National Liberation is the revolt of the oppressed against their oppressor. It was never an aggression of the oppressed on another oppressed people. In all cases, a liberation movement expresses the revolt of the oppressed against an external oppressor or foreign dominion or against an internal oppressor and domestic exploitation, often supported or shared by a foreign power. Necessarily, any such genuine liberation movement would ally itself with other liberation movements, against an oppressor which is usually common to them, but never with the oppressor to liquidate the other oppressed.

But Zionism came to oppress a people already oppressed by a foreign power and internal exploitation. It shared the desires and aims of the mandatory foreign power in Palestine. Before dealing with the British, Israel was ready to make a deal with the Ottomans: Palestine against a sum of money! Herzel wrote: "If His Majesty the Sultan were.. to give us Palestine, we would undertake to settle Turkey's financial difficulties... For Europe we would constitute a bulwark against Asia and there, we would be the part of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state, we would remain in constant touch

(1) Nathan Weinstock, p. 4.
(2) P. Buch: Burning Issues of the Mid-East, p. 7, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1971.

with all of Europe which would guarantee our existence". Weizman wanted to get as far as possible along the road towards Jewish colonization of Palestine and an autonomous Jewish territory under an English protectorate. "From the very beginning. the Zionists supported the British regime and its mandate in Palestine. This came just at the time when the Arabs were awakening to national consciousness. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the British overlords... favored Zionism precisely to meet this new threat of Arab nationalism [1]. They hoped to guard their Empire with a western oriented population upon whose loyalty they thought they could rely until the end of Word War II. They were not mistaken. The Zionists mobilized support for the mandate... At the nineteenth Zionist Congress in 1935, Ben Gurion declared: "'Whoever betrays Great Britain betrays Zionism. We cannot be oblivious to the many interests which Britain has in the Mediterranean. Fortunately for us, British world interests are essentially the preservation of peace and therefore in the strengthening of international peace. England will have bases of defense on sea and on land in the Jewish state and a British corridor. For many years the Jewish state will stand in need of British military protection and protection entails a measure of dependence [2]. Indeed, the Zionists insisted that they are better friends of British imperialism, as they insist today they are the best friends of American imperialism. Menachem Ussishkim, late head of the Jewish National Fund wrote in 1936. "A Palestine which is wholly Arab means that sooner or later Great Britain will be forced to leave just as it is gradually leaving Egypt. A Palestine which is largely Jewish means a political alliance cordial... between the Jewish People and the English" [3]. Weizman wrote: "What we wanted was a British Protectorate. Jews all over the world trusted England. They knew that law and order would be established by the British rule and under it Jewish colonizing activities and cultural development would not be interfered with..."[4].

(1) M. Rodinson: Israel, A Colonial Settler State, p. 43, Pathfinder, 1973.
(2) P. Buch, p. 10.
(3) Palestinian Review, July, p. Buch, p. 10.
(4) H. Lumer, p. 33.

The Palestinians continued to revolt against all external domination since 1908. The peasant uprising against the Jewish colonies go back to 1920-21. The Palestinian revolution of 1936-39, a general strike of six months duration, followed by a general revolt throughout the country was crushed by the British forces aided by the Zionist militias. The Arab revolt of these years was the last attempt of the Arab people of Palestine to prevent by force the entry of Jews into the country. "Zionist chauvinism has a deadly logic. By expelling the Arabs from their own land and conducting warfare against them for 20 years, the Zionist Jews have transformed themselves from a persecuted minority in other lands into an oppressor nation in their present habitat ... Zionists have become oppressors of the Palestinian Arabs" [(1)].

4. A liberation movement is based on a scientific ideology. Its success or failure depends on the extent to which its ideology is scientific or mythical. A scientific ideology is based on analysis of the socio-political structure of the oppressed, modes of production. class structure, wage-scale, land ownership, factories direction, workers and peasants majority, circulation of the capital. A scientific ideology is that which puts the means of production in the hands of the community to prevent exploitation and monopoly. It is one which seeks to abolish class structure; which seeks to establish a wage scale that is proportionate to the value of work; which gives the land and factories collective ownership and self-management; which puts political power in the hands of the majority.

By contrast, a mythical ideology is one based on myth, on superior claims which are the work of sick imaginations, of inferiority complexes or phobias., like messianism, divine election, promised land, land of the fathers, ***Lebensraum***... etc. Every community has its own myth. For one, the whole Earth has been given to her! For another, they are still waiting for the Messiah, accepting oppression and yielding to misery. For a third, they are the sons of God, the knights of Christ

(1) G. Novak: How can the Jews Survive? ... A Socialist answer to Zionism, p. 10. Pathfinder Press, 1970.

or the agents of the Devil. For a fourth, they are the masters of the two worlds! Every community projects from its own passions and desires, wishes and hopes on history and conceives the world in its own fashion.

Indeed, Zionism is the prototype of mythical ideology, for it is based on pseudo-religious ideas of divine election, promised lands, ...etc. The myth of the return to the origin, to the lost paradise, to overcome the fallen soul..., all this is well known in nineteenth century romanticism: The Unity of the Spirit. the ***Volkgeist***, the realization of the Absolute. It may happen that myths work in history as well as ideas and even more, but the work of myth is not enduring. It leads only to more bloodshed and to the complete destruction of human rationality.

5. A liberation movement is one where an oppressed people organize themselves into a Liberation Front and struggle against the oppressor so as to liberate the Land, or any portion of it, which later becomes a refuge and a base of freedom. This can be achieved only by a struggle in the land, beginning from a revolutionary force led by a revolutionary avant-garde. There is no liberation movement which occurs by fleeing, from the oppressed land and settling in another land, first as immigrants, then as colonials. A government in exile is permitted only for the leaders and only for a period of time, and often in their case the force of the struggle is much less than when the leadership of the liberation front is inside the occupied territories acting on and interacting with the people in both the occupied and liberated areas. A liberation is not a movement towards the outside but on the contrary, a movement towards the inside. A liberation towards the outside is indeed a colonization by immigration, settling and displacing the original people. A liberation towards the outside is indeed colonization.

Zionism is a model of a liberation movement towards the outside, by the immigration from the oppressed and persecuted land to settle in another land. The immigration of the Jews from Russia, from East-

Europe and from Germany is no less than a drastic escape from the struggle with the people in Russia against the tyranny of Tsarism, the struggle of the German people against Hitlerian Fascism and the struggle of East-Europeans against chauvinism. "Israel was established as a result of a colonial conquest justified by an ethno-centric and racially exclusive ideology, marked by the same chauvinistic attitudes towards the people of underdeveloped lands as other European bourgeois nationalist doctrines" (1). Being a petit-bourgeois movement, lacking the strength to act independently, "Zionism embarked of its only possible road, namely, to convince the oppressors that the establishment of a Jewish state in the colonial world would be in their interest. Lacking independent strength and rejecting social struggle against the European ruling classes as utopian, the Zionists allied themselves with imperialism as Balfour Declaration shows. The creation of a Jewish state on Palestine soil is the culmination of a process that fits perfectly into the great European American movement of expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries whose aim was to settle new inhabitants among other peoples or to dominate them economically or politically. Herzl spoke of settlement in Palestine in terms of people without land "to a land without people" (2). Zionism has to become a colonization movement of a specific kind. Its character is best seen by comparing it with classical colonialism as practiced in South Africa. "Colonialism has a two-fold impact on the indigenous population and on the social, political and economical structures. It first displaces the original inhabitants and disintegrates traditional society and culture. Subsequently, however, it reintegrated the uprooted inhabitants as workers to be exploited by the new colonial society. In South Africa, the Africans were first thrown out of the land and later, they were sent to work as wage laborers in the European owned mines, factories and farms" (3). Zionism followed exactly the same model. It expelled the native Palestinians first and now it is exploiting them as labor.

(1) M. Rodinson: Intro. by P. Buch, p. 13.

(2) H. Lumer, p. Is.

(3) A. Bober: The Other Israel, The Radical Case against Zionism. p. 10, Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1972.

Zionism regarded its seeming and relative opposition to the British power in Palestine before 1948 as a liberation movement and even called the 1948 war "War of Independence." But, indeed, this pseudo-opposition to the British rule was not aimed at liberating the land from British occupation but at usurping it from its indigenous owners and then subjecting them to a double colonization. "Throughout the period of the British Mandate the Zionist colonizers confronted the Arabs as a foreign invading force, intent on ousting them, from their own country, opposing Palestinian independence, fighting along with the British Army..." (1). The fight against the British was for exclusive control of the territory, not for liberation from imperialism for all those who lived there.

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) rented state domain land from the British or purchased land from absentee Arab feudal landlords and then evicted the Arab tenant farmers who worked the land. Selling or leasing Jewish lands to Arabs was prohibited. The JNF opposed land reform as this would have put the land into the hands of Arab farmers who unlike the feudalists would refuse to sell and would resist. Weitz, a prominent leader of the Zionist Establishment and head of the Land and Afforestation Department of the INF wrote: "The struggle for the redemption of the land means simply this: liberation of the land from the hand of the stranger. from the chains of wilderness., the struggle for its conquest by settlement, and last but not least the redemption of the settler, both as human being and as a Jew". Once again, a white man purchases the land from the American Indians! Therefore, the Israeli community was constituted by a colonial process of forcefully displacing the indigenous population. "Without iron helmets and cannon, we would have never been able to plant a tree or build a house" (2).

6. A liberation movement is by nature and origin anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist. By nature, it can never cooperate or collaborate

(1) J. Rothschild: "Socialism and Zionism: Are They Compatible?", p. 14 in The Truth About Zionism and Israel.

(2) P. Buch, p. 11-12.

with imperialism. On the other hand, imperialism never helps a liberation movement unless it is a pseudo-one, a fake, and hence a movement which compromises with the goals of imperialism. Domination and liberation are two opposites: the rise and survival of one necessarily mean the downfall and death of the other.

Zionism is a movement which had its birth inside the very bosom of imperialism. Since Herzel, Zionism wanted to put itself in the service of the Ottoman Empire, then in the service of the British Empire because it was stronger and now in the service of America. Imperialism gave Zionism its sustenance and survival. Like the model of the nineteenth century, Zionism conceived the Jewish problem in the same mentality: Go outside, expel and settle, exploit and dominate. "By 1879 (the founding year of the World Zionist Organization) virtually the entire world had been colonized. The same processes which had created anti-Semitism and then Zionism, had also given rise to imperialism. The western European States and the United States had spread out into Asia, Africa and Latin America, integrating those continents into the world market and subordinating them politically. Colonization was not in process of development. It was largely complete. Consequently, new nations could be created from just two sources whether from the European countries themselves or from a colonial territory under the control of one of the European countries (or the United States). It is around this question that the class character of Zionism became decisive" [1]. The Europeanism of the Zionists made it possible for them to present their plan as part of the same movement of European expansion. That is why Israel became a colonial power in the full sense of the term. "It is rather by political choice that Israel has generally turned up as an ally of imperialist powers and it can be said that this political choice was in a large part imposed by the circumstances surrounding the foundation and birth of the state" [2].

(1) Quote from M. Dayan in N. Weinstock, p. 3-6.
(2) J. Rothschild, p. 12.

Rodinson shows that plans for setting up an exclusive Jewish state in Arab Palestine got nowhere and found little favor even among the Jews until the British imperialism was persuaded to sponsor it in order to justify its own continued intervention in the Middle East. He proves that despite its avowed humanitarian and liberationist aim, the Zionist project required the reciprocal collaboration of the Zionist agencies in upholding British rule against Arab strivings for independence, that it demanded the continual expansion of modern economy and technology from which Arabs were excluded and the ultimate displacement of the majority of the native Arab population from their own homeland" (1). Lord Melchett, an English capitalist and Zionist, wrote: "The advantages to the British Empire are obvious... The Suez Canal and air stations, the oil pipe outlet in Haifa and its harbor, have become vital to our naval strategy in the Mediterranean. The security of the imperial complex of interests can be better assured by a large European population that by the few battalions that can be spared" (2).

It is repetitious to say that Zionism serves willingly as an outpost of imperialist strategy in the Middle East and Africa. It is an imperialist base in both areas planted by the world imperialist system. Its role is not confined to its own expansion but it must be placed in the global context of imperialist counter-revolution spearheaded by the United States. David Ness, who was the United States *Chargé d'affaires* in Cairo at the time of the 1967 war wrotes: "In exchange of intelligence, American cooperation with Israel is unprecedented... During the months before the June 1967 hostilities, the military intelligence requirements required by Washington from American embassies, the Central Intelligence Agency and military intelligence staffs in the Middle East were very largely based on Israeli needs not on American interests. The effectiveness of the Israeli air strike on June 5, 1967 was assured at least in party by information of Egyptian airfields and aircraft disposition provided through American sources. With political and economic

(1) M. Rodinson, p. 89-90.
(2) Ibid., intro. by P. Buch. p. 13.

information, it has been State Department practice to provide Israel's embassy in Washington with copies of all our reports from Middle East embassies considered to be of interest" [1]. It is also well known that the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel-Aviv, sponsored by the ***Histardut***, was financed by the CIA and was regarded as an integral part of its strategy.

In Africa, the Israeli South African Alliance is an alliance of the most reactionary forces in the Afro-Asian World, backed by the forces of imperialism and designed to hold back the tide of progress, preserve the strong hold of profit and privilege and perpetrate the exploitation of the oppressed masses in the interest of the tiny handful of racists and monopolists who are holding the world to ransom today. Israel and South Africa are today the two main bastions of imperialism and reaction in the Afro-Asian World. The smashing of alliance between them must be one of the foremost priorities of progressive mankind today. Olizer Shostak and Shimmel Tamir, both members of the Knesset have Israel and South Africa have organized the Israeli-South African League. The League argues that Israel and South Africa common problems and interests and therefore demands that relations between the two countries should be improved [2].

The Israeli ruling circles are to be found on the side of the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Today, United States imperialism organized the Israeli South African League. The league argues that in its quest for strategic raw materials, is injecting itself increasingly into the African scene, allying itself with the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and with the Portuguese colonialists against the forces of national liberation. In the pursuit of imperialist aims it is assisted in no small measure by the policies of the Israel ruling circles[3].

(1) Bober, p. 15-16.
(2) H. Lumer, p. 55.
(3) Brian Bunting: "The Israeli-South African Axis, A Treatise, to Africa", Sechaba, April, 1970, H. Burner, p. 52.

7. All liberation movements are at the same time social librations. The external oppressor has the same interest as the internal exploiter. That is why the Oligarchy in Latin America is sold to American imperialism, and so is, the case with the capitalist regimes in Africa and the feudalist regimes in the Middle East. All libertarian movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America are socialistically oriented against foreign capital and internal exploitation and monopoly. Hence, a major cause for the failure of a number of liberation movements is the fact that their leadership was, moved by bourgeois men devoid of socialist program and vision. The new classes in the Third World appeared because their national movements were not tied to a socialist program. The new lords of today (after independence) played the same role as the lords of yesterday. i.e. before independence.

Zionism took birth in nineteenth century capitalist Europe. Its economy has been conceived as a capitalist economy and continue to survive as a capitalist economy. "Had the Jews of Europe occupied a special position analogous, to that of the blacks in the United States, Jewish nationalism might have developed in a fashion similar to black or Chicano nationalism in the United States. That is, if the Jews had constituted, numerically and society, an important element of the working class, with the power to grind the whole society to a halt through, direct mass action, it is possible that there would have developed a movement for "Jewish power" within the European societies"[1]. An additional obstacle to the development of a revolutionary Jewish ideology was the existence of a considerable, number of Jewish petty capitalists. These people were generally supporters of the Zionist movement, encouraging Jewish workers to oppose only "gentile society" rather than to struggle against capitalism as a whole.

Zionism led to a capitalist country with heavy public ownership. Almost everything connected with large profits is primarily in private hands: banking, commerce, metropolitan real estate, light, industry, Citrus rowing, ...etc. Zionist policies flow from the movement's

(1) G. Tomeh: Israel and South Africa, p. 9, New World Press, New York, 1973.

racialist character, its exclusivist objective of a totally Jewish state, carved out at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian people and plagued with typical problems of capitalist society, including class struggle, economic crises, unemployment and militarism. Israel has been propped up by outside financial aid, much of it from the Jewish communities in the United States, England, France, and South Africa. This foreign inflow from capitalist powers, the largest ***per capita*** in the world, has enabled Israel to live beyond her means as a privileged tenant. Surely, Israel's exploitative undertaking has been carried out with the blessings of big international capital. Israel does not have an autonomous, strong and viable economic base. It must live from hand to mouth, depending on the largesse of wealthy Jews abroad above all, the generosity and business investment of American millionaires and large corporations. In any pinch, its economic well being, territorial integrity and national security all hang on what military and financial aid comes forth to the rescue from America [1].

Zionism participates in the economic of exploitation of the Third World along with the capitalist interests of big European, American and Japanese industry, as an integral partner in the world's imperialist system. Roughly speaking, it is certainly true that, as Herzel wanted. Israel constitutes a beachhead of the industrialized capitalist world in an underdeveloped world [2]. Zionism appears now in the Middle East in the invidious role of agent not of its own, but of the powerful western capitalist interests and as ***protégé*** of neo-colonialism [3]. It is the firmest bastion of capitalism in the Middle East. Its economy is dominated by big capitalist groups and ten percent of the Israelis receive a portion of the social pyramid [4].

The ***Kibbutzim*** collective colonies involving only three percent of the population are not the communist oasis depicted by their simplistic propaganda. They are highly dependent on the banking sector

(1) H. Lumer, p. 4748.
(2) J. Rothschild, p.12-13.
(3) O. Novack, p.11.
(4) M. Rodinson, p. 89-90.

which supplies their needs. Economically, they rest on the exploitation of helpless laborers who have neither power, nor means, nor any other option of where to go or for whom to work except for the Jewish Agency which organized and financed their immigration to Palestine.

The ***Hisdarut*** trade union federation is not the working class success that is customarily pictured to be anymore than the Kibbutzim. It was formed in the 1920's to fight against the employment of Arab labor. It is a nationalist organization at the complete integration of the workers into the capitalist system. Moreover, it is the biggest employer of labor in the country. The ***Histadrut*** ruthlessly fights any from of autonomous organization of the laboring masses. All important strikes have been organized in spite of it and been against it and sabotaged them and their leadership. Constantly, it has supported every proposal of anti-strike legislation and has entered into wage freeze contracts with the bosses [(1)]. Till recently, its membership was exclusively Jewish.

8. A liberation movement is a democratic movement based on the will of the people. Most of the national liberation movements even add "democratic" to their names as well as to that of the state they helped to found. It is never based on oppression, militarism or military establishment.

Zionism identified itself with the Israeli military establishment as is it the case of the United States, who was behind the aggression of June 1967 after the undeclared coup ***d'etat*** which occurred just few days before June 5th. A military society directed by a military establishment is not a democratic society. The protest movements inside Israel are growing by the day, and so is their oppression becoming more and more brutal.

Like the United States, Israel is a nation of immigrants. Both have failed to make the two states a melting-pot. In Israel, every ethnic group has its own place on the ethnic scale. Every group is lorded

(1) G. Novack, p. 12.

over by another. On the top appears the white Eastern European Jew and at the bottom appears the black Jew. Every ethnic group has its place in the scale of work, wage, value, political representation, and social rank, "Israel is not a democratic state. It is a racist (and clerical) state, based on the expulsion of the indigenous population, the institutionalization of the right of return to every Jew (while return is missed to the Palestinian refugees) and the oppression of the Arab minority that remains within the country" [1]. The Arabs are subjected to colonialist exclusivist laws (the Emergency Regulations of 1945) inherited from the British colonial power and strengthened since then, which permit military authorities to expel and to assign residence to any citizen, to intern and detain people by administrative and/or military order.

9. Finally, a liberation Movement is a peace movement. A liberation occurs for a durable peace. A liberation war is a defensive war which leads after liberation to an everlasting peace.

Zionism is not a peace movement, because it is based on aggression and expansion. Zionism by its dreams wishes to reach the greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates. And who knows to what extent goes the ***Lebensraum***? The "secure boundaries" constantly requested were never determined because Zionism rejects all borders so long as it has the military power to expand them. The ***Lebensraum*** hat no boundaries. It depends on the needs of the greater Israel which will contain the 15 million Jews on Earth! Ben Gurion wrote in 1938 "Our right to Palestine is not the right of the Palestinian Jews but of the entire Jewish people which is scattered the world over and of which three percent live in Palestine" [2].

Israel was never the "Peaceful little state" it claims itself to be. In 1947-48, terrorist raids by its armed forces drove the Palestinian population from their towns and villages. It has never ceased to oppose with violence the uprooted refugees return to their homes. In

(1) N. Weinstock, p. 8.
(2) Ibid., p. 8.

1967 Dayan and Yaariv deliberately organized a campaign of hysteria to force the council of ministers to unleash the war [1]. Israel is not a weak and unarmed country. On the contrary, it is the principal military power in the region, capable of fielding in periods of full mobilization more soldiers than all its bordering states together. It has more tank specialists and pilots than all the Arab countries put together [2]. Tile ***Kibbutzim*** have been built as armed strong points in the national defense system because of the expansionist and militarist course of Zionism. They were far more important for settling new territory and guarding borders against dispossessed Arabs than for opening up a road to Jewish socialism.

Zionism does not want peace unless what is meant by that is recognition of its conquests and acquiescence, to the Palestinians, to its racist and colonialist regime. In other words, "peace" is identical to the "pacification" all oppressors seek. It has nothing to do with pacifism and flows from a political strategy based on the ***fait accompli***. The only future that Zionism and its structuring of the state of Israel offer to the Jewish population is war [3].

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(1) Ibid., p. 8.
(2) Ibid., p. 6-7.
(3) P. Buch, p. 11.

An Open Letter on Zionism

May, 15 believed to be the end of a drama, the persecution of the Jews Europe, now it has seen that it was the beginning of another, the expulsion of two millions Palestinian, threatened by annihilation and condemned to despair. May, 15 thought to be the end of a bloodshed, the end of human hatred and of white racialism, now it appeared to be the beginning of more and more bloodshed, the beginning of another heatred and the continuation of the same white racialism. A voice of Justice in this unjust world!

Shouldn't we say that:

1. Zionism is a pure political movement which veils itself behind religious justification. The Covenant, the Promised Land and the hope for the Future are the most debated questions in Biblical Theology. The unconditional, material and particular view of the Covenant is always challenged by another view also Biblical of a conditional, moral and a universal Covenant. The Covenant of God with Abraham, Moses and the Prophets was a conditional one. Abraham obeyed God by hearing his Call to leave, by the Sacrifice and by complete obedience. Moses received a Covenant of Law which binds man to the moral law expressed in the ten Commandments. The Prophets cursed Kings, Princes and Priests. They cursed the people who broke the Covenant, transgressed the law and forsake virtue.

(*) An open letter send to the American press after October war, 1973.

Historically, the Canaanites were in Palestine before the Hebrews. The Hebrews came and occupied their land and have been influenced by their religion. All ancient Semitic Tribes were wondering in Ancient Near East looking for water and grass. The Hebrews were nomads, not Settlers. The historical Zionistic argument is then historically false.

Even if the Hebrews were there, since when history, realities and populations, can be displaced? Immigrations are irreversible movements in history. Should Americans return back to Europe? Should the British return back to Britain and leave Australia? Should the Europeans leave Europe and return back to Central Asia?

Even if the Zionistic interpretation of the Covenant was correct, since when every community interprets her own scriptures in her benefits and accounts only for her interests on the detriment of others? The Qur'an gave the Muslims the Whole Earth. Should Muslims be strong enough and displace all the inhabitance of the Earth? If every community parts from her own ego-centric culture, what will be the Criteria of arbitrage, except that of muscles?

Even if the Zionistic interpretation of national identity was religious identity, since when does religion make the identity of man and peoples? Religion has been always exploited in history and was the custodian of conservatism, reaction and exploitation.

2. Regardless of these religious justification of political goals Zionism expressed *L'Etat d'âme* of the Nineteen Century Europe: Nationalism, Romanticism and outside expansion. After the decline of modern Empires: French, German, Austrian, Italian ...etc., every ethnicity looked for her identity as national sovereignty in an independent State. The Jews lived as an independent and isolated ethnic group in every ethnicity, condemned to live in Ghettos isolates from the rest of the community. Only the French Revolution offered them citizenship to begin the process of emancipation, an offer which had been refused; apparently by tear of assimilation. but essentially by separatism and Ethnocentrism. They have been excluded of all nationalities because of their separatism, especially from East Europe and Russia. Zionism

took birth in East Europe first. It was a spiritual revivalism, in its beginning, of the Jewish Tradition and the affirmation of Judaism as a culture. Later on, the spirit needed a land, any land to save the people from persecution, pogroms and extermination. Finally Palestine was chosen. The first settlers came as guests, accepted and welcomed. The guests became hosts and the real hosts have been driven away.

3. The creation of the state of Israel has not solved the Jewish problem but made, another, the Palestinian one. Religion cannot create nationality. The relation between an Arab Jew and an Arab Muslim or Christian is more stronger than the relation between a Western Jew and an Eastern Jew, between a German Jew and a Yemenite Jew. The racial problem inside the state is an expression of its racial foundation.

There is no people who is by nature more intelligent, more hard worker, more civilized and more apt to life than another people. That also was the nineteen century European racialism, Zionism as an ideology with western capital and western technology made Israel. Every people is able of progress if it has its means. Arabs were the vihicul of civilization in the past then hindered by European colonialism and internal exploitation and despotism. They are now trying to liberate themselves and enter a new era of independence and progress.

4. Peoples in the middle east are exhausting their resources in armaments instead of developing their economies. They are obliged to defend themselves against imperialism and colonialism poured in the region from Israel. In 1956 when France and England decided to reimpose their occupation of Suez Canal they have been preceded by Israel. In 1967 when America wanted to put an end to the socialist, progressist and anti-imperialistic regimes in the middle east, the purpose has been fulfilled by Israel.

Israel is geographically a part of the Third World but it practices the politics of Western imperialism in the area. Should she practices the politics of liberation, social justice and of decolonization, she will

have a better chance to survive with the people in the middle east, liberated and unified. Is it possible that a part of the Third World helps the racial regimes of south Africa, the separatist movement in south Sudan and colonialism in Angola and Mozambique? The liberation movement in the Third World is a struggle against imperialism and a struggle for social justice. A liberation movement also does not recognize any boundaries of race, religion, color, language. culture or nationality.

5. When will we put an end to exclusivism and to Egoism? When will we stop to project our own political interests on religion? When will we, Jews and Arabs, in the middle east, drop our frontiers in this age of unification, unification of Europe, of south America and of Africa? When the Jews come to Cairo, to Baghdad and to Damascus and the Arabs go to Jaffa, to Haifa and to Tel-Aviv? In Jerusalem, there is a place for all. It is the same culture, the same family of language, the same history and one neighborhood. Is not Abraham the father of all? The common life of Arabs and Jews in Spain is still alive and can be renewed. Averrois and Maimonides, both taught in Cordoba, in the great Mosque, the same universalism, the same rationalism and the same ethics. These examples of the past can be models for the future.

Palestine! When will you be a free democratic, progressist and a secular state where Arabs and Jews, Muslims and Christians may live together, where all people regardless of color. race, religion, and language may dwell ?

We, young generations. protest against racialism. militarism, capitalism and colonialism.

Youth of all nations, unify yourself and remember Palestine! The struggle for liberation is an international struggle.



Religion and Revolution

An Islamic Model

Introduction.

It happened in the history of theology that religion has been always coupled with another thing: religion and capitalism, religion and socialism, religion and dictatorship, religion and democracy ...etc. Religion has been always put in connection with the spirit of the epoch. Was religion a Justification of this spirit and a support to it or was religion a rejection and a denial of the divinities of the time? Is religion coupled to revolution one more example of what has always happened in history, a new justification of revolution which expresses the spirit of the time and which will pass like other vogues in theology or is it really a crossroad in the history of religious interpretations and in the History of mankind?

There is no eternal theology which fits every time and every space. Theology is always an expression of the spirit of the time. Every time gave us two spirits: the first is the spirit of the institutional religion, which is always conservative, formal and static. It tries to keep the ***status quo*** of things. It formulates a theology for the elite and for the upper class. It monopolizes the interpretation, prevents any opposition and even oppresses the masses. The second spirit is

(*) Spring, 1974.

progressive, concrete and dynamic. It tries to change the statue of things. It formulates a theology for the masses and for the oppressed classes. It represents the opposition, affirms its rights and gives a counter-interpretation. From the Old Testament we have Prophets against Kings and Rabbis. In the New Testament we have Jesus against Pharisees, elders of the people and Scribes.

In theology, then, there is right and left, conservative trend and progressive trend, reactionary thought and revolutionary thought. There is a capitalist theology and a socialist theology, a feudalist and a populist, a royalist and a republican, a dictatorial and a democratic, a white and a black, ...etc. Theology does not express only the spirit of the time, but it expresses also more specifically the socio-political regimes, the class situations, and the ethnic communities. Theology is not a sacred science but a pure human reflection on or a justification of the present situation through religious data. Theology can be reduced to sociology of knowledge in a very wide sense. It is the projection not only of theory of knowledge and social construction of reality but of all the human existence: interests, passions, options, class, culture, degree of development of humanity. There is a Greek theology, a German theology. There is a middle ages theology and a modern theology. Theology was always a screen for a human projection. Jesus for a white is white, for a black is black. God for a capitalist is the capital and for the hungry is bread. Only theologians do not admit it. Is it a human pride, an auto-defense for survival, an usurpation of Divine Power, a purity of the self and impurity of the others?

Religion in its real spirit was always a revelation. Revelation came to liberate the human consciousness from all kinds of oppression, material or moral. Nature is not an absolute power but it is subject to another power. The affirmation of a Divine Power is not a goal in itself but a means to make of the human power the highest power in nature. Also the power of a dictator is not an absolute power but subject to another. The affirmation of a higher and a stronger power is not for the sake of God but for the sake of man. It was a mean to give man confidence in himself and to make him revolt

against all dictatorial powers. Revelation had a function which was liberation of mankind from all kinds of constraints. Liberation of Israel from the political dictatorship of the Pharaoh, from the Babylonian captivity, from the legalism of law and from the authority of the Rabbis.

Revolution is the nature of man. Since the beginning of life, revolt expressed the Nature of Man. Spartacus and the slave revolts in ancient Rome, Guevara and the oppressed revolt in our time, both indicate that the foundation of revolution is in the nature of man. Man is freedom. He revolts by his nature against all kinds of oppression. Man is reason. He revolts in the name of his nature against all kinds of obscurantism. Man is equality and justice. He revolts following his own nature against inequality and injustice. History of Mankind is a history of liberation pushed by revolution and done by the nature of Man. The only possible theology is theology of liberation.

Revolution is the religion of the modem whether in the capitalist regime, in the socialist regime or in the third world. The expansion of socialist parties, the radical movements and labor unions in the capitalist regimes indicate the extension of the revolutionary spirit. Student movements and the revolt of the youth against the ideals of the affluent society mark the spirit of the epoch. The leftist wing in the church, the young priests and the revolutionary fathers are symptoms of the presence of the revolutionary spirit inside the church. All voices of dissent, objectors of consciousness, liberals, anti-war movements, New Left, radicals, all these movements are the only way of salvation for capitalist societies.

The socialist regimes are the result of revolution in Russia, in China and in the popular democracies. Revolution even became not only a situation but a science and a foundation of life. Accusation like atheism is a pure western propaganda. Primitive Christianity was a revolutionary movement. Peasants War led by T. Munzer was a revolutionary movement. In the Third World, revolution is its motor element. If the last century was the century of colonialism and the

European hegemony, this century is the century of liberation and national independence of the Third World.

People in the Third World are still religious. They still have a religious spirit. Religion is still a source of energy. In such a case where masses are illiterate in its majority, an ideology and social science analysis may be a little bit difficult for them to understand and may take a long time. While a religious revolutionary interpretation is nearer to their hearts and canalizes this source of latent energy in the revolution. The masses can move in the name of God. Nothing in this is similar to ancient religion's War. The masses in their simplicity and sincerity know well where their enemies are. Religion in its simplicity as a revolutionary motivation is the nearest revolutionary education far the masses. It will be the mission of this generation. Later, when the masses are more educated, a scientific revolutionary ideology may be represented to them. Religion itself can be understood as an ideology. Ideology is the religion of the moderns.

Directing Ideas for a Theology of Revolution.

To make from religion a revolution and to make from revolution a religion leads us to the theology of revolution as theology in religion and as ideology in revolution. A theology of revolution is not a simple preaching from the pulpit on the meaning of love, charity and the future kingdom of heaven, or a simple prayer for the poor, the oppressed, and hopes for peace, and love. Rhetoric is an art of speech, no more. There is a difference between a speech on poverty and changing the state of poverty. There is also a difference between temporary passion and an objective idea based on analysis of realities.

A theology of revolution serves for revolution as an ideology. A revolution is not simply changing reality without any theoretical foundation of change or without any theoretical foundation, but with a determined one given by religion and understood as a revolutionary ideology. How can we then conceive a theology of revolution for a revolutionary movement?

1. A theology of revolution as every other theology is a "science of God" according to the etymological sense of the word. God has always been defined in the same way in every theology whatsoever: Absolute Power, Eternal Presence, Perfect Being ...etc. But the problem is not in the definition or in the conception but in the incarnation of the concept in Reality, that means in the determination of the Locus. Usually God in a conservative theology is outside the world, transcendent, untouchable, intangible, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent. eternal, creator ...etc. Transforming that image in the human life, we will have the political dictatorship, the dictator, or the economical dictatorship, the capital, or the familial dictatorship, the father, or the street dictatorship, the policemen, or the administrative dictatorship, the director, or the business dictatorship, the manager, or the university dictatorship, the professor ...etc. This image of God as an absolute power is transformed in the human life to the sanctification of central power in everything. This kind of theology took birth in the paternal, feudalist and capitalist societies. Theology and society structure both nourish each other. The causal interpretation is inoperative. The question is not whether the centro-theology is the origin of the paternal society or whether the paternal society is the origin of the centro-theology. Both engage in a dialectical relation. So far as one exists the other exists. The centro-theology serves as a foundation for the paternal society and the paternal society projects its schema in a centro-theology. Unless we understand transcendence as immanence, i.e. the Divine presence in the heart and the liberation of man, Transcendence will be always equal to oppression. A revolutionary theology conceives God inside the world, inside history, between the masses and for the people. God is not outside but inside. He is not transcendent but immanent. He is not unseen, untouchable, intangible, unknown, but he is known, near and familiar. No more central power which serves as a keystone for a paternal society. That is why all theologies of immanence in the Feudalist society in the middle ages, for example, Amaury of Bene have been seen as heresy. In the modern age all the revolutions were based on immantist ideologies, like Hegel and Marx. To conceive

God in history is to conceive him again as He was in the beginning of the history of Mankind, the dynamo of history. The fact that he spoke to the prophets does not give any foundation of a paternal society. He spoke to the prophets in the interest of the people. God is on Earth as well as in Heaven. God is on the mountains as He is in the sky.

The dogma of creation immortalizes this session in life between the top and the base. It gives the top all the rights and takes it away from the base. The emanation rectifies the situation and sets up again the world. It gives him back its ontological foundation. The World is here. It is auto-sufficient and auto-existent.

2. In a conservative theology, the relation between God and the world is a relation of emanation. Emanation is a more modest dogma than creation because God condescends and enters in relation with the world. God and the world in emanation are from the same nature but with difference of degree. There is one Truth, one Reality and one Being, the One. If the One degrades then comes the hierarchy of being: the mind, the soul and lastly the matter. The further we go up, we arrive at the perfection; and the lower as we go down, we arrive at the imperfection. God is the absolute perfection and the matter is the absolute imperfection. Transposing this image in the human life we will have directly the hierarchical, the bureaucratic society or the society of classes. In the top, we have the Administrator and below him comes a row of levels one under the other, till the lowest one. Hierarchical theology and class society support each other. Angelology is a prototype of a hierarchical theology in a class society.

A revolutionary theology gets rid of this hierarchical concept of the World and chooses a linear concept. All realities are on the same level. No top and no base, no higher and no lower. Transporting this linear concept on human life, we will have a society without classes. All the members of this society are equal. The horizontal dimension of life not the vertical one is history. No revolution is possible without incarnation in movement of history. If in the past

conservative theology took the ***Intensio*** as model of perfect life, we moderns take the ***Extensio*** as a model of a revolutionary movement. Eternity is not in the ***Intensio*** but in the ***Extensio***. The two poles of human life are not up and down but forward and backward. Up is forward, down is backward.

3. After God and nature comes Man. A reactionary theology divides Man in two parts: body and soul as it divided the World in two parts: temporal and eternal, relative and absolute, visible and invisible ...etc. In the same way of conceiving the World in a hierarchical value, soul prevails on body. Sometimes soul is the value and the body is the "disvalue". The soul is the ***locus*** of good, the body is the ***locus*** of evil. The body perishes, while the soul is immortal. All rational arguments have been formulated to prove this duality. This theology indeed expresses a satisfied society which finds the means of the survival of the body and wants Puritanism, by compensation or by hypocrisy to find a spiritual salvation. A hungry or an ill body can never think in the immortality of the soul. Camillo Torres cried: How can you prove the immortality of the soul it the body is mortal!

On the contrary, a revolutionary theology turns the situation upside down and makes the body prevail on soul, or at least unifies man again. In the Third World, masses are poor while the soul is perfect. What makes problems is not the soul but the body. We know how poverty imposes its morality. The immortality of the soul conforms to a capitalist society which glorifies the top of things: the capital, the manager, the boss ...etc. The soul is the top of man. In a revolutionary society free from these tops, man is there, one and unique. The duality between spiritualism and materialism is one of the bourgeois hypocrisies, like duality between theism and atheism. The separation between spirit and matter is a trick from materialistic society that wants to cover its materialism by spiritualism. A real spiritual society does not need this cover because it is living the life of the spirit. Was Guevara or Ho Chi Minh materialists? The spirit of revolution is the only spirit, frank and open, which gets rid of all these ancient hypocrisies.

4. The institutional religion was always conservative. Any institution which unifies itself with its goal is converted to human power which defends itself and gives itself a right of existence regardless of its conformity with the initial goals. The institution as an assembly of individuals is a power from the fact of being together like any community. Besides, when the institution founds itself on a Divine Right, it permits afterwards all kinds of actions even if they were contrary to the Divine goals. It feels that it has right, and consequently it justifies itself and whatever it does. Examples from history are numerous: Galileo, Giordano Bruno ...etc.

A religion without authority has more chances to be revolutionary. Every man is responsible for his deeds. No central power to control, to gage and to fix forever. The consciousness is the only reference for human action. The difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is real. It expresses the difference between religion or authority and religion of spirit. A religion without authority and without institution is a religion of a free man. Wasn't it the great lesson of the Enlightenment? If there is authority it should come out form the spirit, from the masses and from the democratic society.

5. A religion of Priesthood which distinguishes between clergy and laymen risks to fall in a dualistic concept of life. In this schema, there are two worlds, one of absolute truth, which prevails on another world less important and sometimes void of truth. Man has to concentrate all his powers on the true world. What happens in the ephemeral world is less important and also ephemeral. Nevertheless, the situation is sometimes reversed, and we find clergy more committed in the World than laymen. But this commitment was in the name of the institution and for the benefit of the country where the institution is. The real commitment of some priests in the world, like Camillo Torres, is made against the institution and for the benefit of the masses.

On the contrary, a religion without priesthood and a sacerdotal body has more chances to be a revolutionary religion. All humans will be priests. There is one World, one action and one life. God

spoke for the benefit of Man. Revolution came to give Man a system for his life and for his relation with others. The only world is this world where Man exists. The spiritual is the temporal and the temporal is the spiritual. The sacred is the profane, and the profane is the sacred. In revolution, we find more mysticism than in monasteries. The guerrilla, on the mountains are more divine than priests on the pulpits or in front of the altar. Guevara wasn't a saint?

6. A cultal religion conceives certain acts which make Man nearer to God. These acts are indeed symbolic and they put Man in front of God. Other daily acts are worldly. They have not the same effect as the symbolic acts. Even piety is sometimes measured by these external and formal acts. The price is always high: Temples, churches, mosques, synagogues, houses of God, picturesque and artistic, gold and silver, columns and figures, statues and pictures. Symbolism goes far that there was no more difference between cult and ceremony, piety and pomp, obedience and slavery.

A revolutionary religion does not have any cults. Devotion to God is expressed by devotion to Man. Cult is not symbolic but every act in the daily life is a cult. The highest cult is the act defending the great intentions of revelation, the human rights. The Temple is the World. The ceremony is a demonstration of masses against economical or political oppression. The Mass is held on the mountains by the guerrilla in an act of sacrifice. The only possible cult in a theology of revolution is a revolutionary act in the wide space. The ancient passive martyr putting his neck under the sword of the Roman gladiator returns in the guerrilla as, an active martyr who resists and defends the peasants. The purity is the, same, the purity of sacrifice!

7. A conservative theology is this one which emphasizes the importance of the tradition and defends its absolute validity. The defense of the tradition means the affirmation of the authority of the past neglecting the present and the future, or defending the authority of the institution representing the tradition. Unfortunately, Roman Catholicism represents this type of traditional theology.

On the contrary, a progressive theology is the one that puts the emphasis on the scripture. In the scripture the present can be better seen. The scripture is so wide that it can permit all kinds of interpretation without any restrictions from the tradition. Fortunately, Protestantism represents this kind of progressive theology. That is why all modern biblical science have been carried by protestants rather than by Catholics. The affirmation of the right of the individual to interpret shakes the foundation of the tradition. The purity of revolution is a return to the purity and simplicity of Scriptures. All revolutionary movements were a return to primitive interpretation of Scriptures in the early days. "***Retour aux sources***" is a great revolutionary principle not only in scholarship but also in action on the ground.

8. A conservative theology begins its interpretation of the Scriptures by textual arguments. It deduces the meaning from the texts and imposes it on reality, and usually, this kind of interpretation is based on Personal interest. The text is distorted in ingenious esoteric ways. To make the text say what the interpreter wants it to say is too easy and depends only on the skill of the interpreter. In such interpretation, there is no measure of truth. Sometimes the prejudices are openly confused. prejudices of time, of class, of regime or of dogma.

In a progressive theology, interpretation does not begin from the text but from reality. The interpreter is a social scientist who experiments in his field and knows all its factors. He has an image about the structure of reality. A progressive social scientist will measure this structure of reality with the general goals of Revelation, liberation of man, equality and justice. He judges this structure scientifically and dispraises it. Here we are in front of an objective criterion of truth because there is the outside reality to which all scholars can have recourse. There will be no more room for personal interests because it can be unveiled by the objective analysis of reality. If the textual interpretation follows the authority, the tradition or the ***status quo***, the statistic interpretation begins new claims and shows structures of reality which have been obscured by a great amount of texts. If the textual interpretation stabilizes

the *status quo*, the concrete understanding of reality changes this *status quo* and rectifies its structure according to the goals of Revelation and the nature of thing. If the textual Interpretation is an affirmative one, the social interpretation is negative because it negates the *status quo* in order to change it. A revolutionary discourses without any biblical reference may be more sincere and more focused on Revelation rather than a theological discourse full of biblical citations

9. A reactionary theology is a dogmatic one which affirms the auto-existence and the auto-sufficiency of dogma. In addition, dogmas are conceived as things which exist really in the world. They are events, persons and institutions in history. This auto-sufficience of dogma cuts the dogma from the world and leaves the world for other forces. Dogma attributes to itself a reality as a substitute-reality for the world and in such a way, a dogma becomes true and a religion becomes positive.

In a revolutionary theology, dogmas are not things but they are motives for action. They are true so far as they stimulate action. They exist through action within the human effort, and by the human capacity. Incarnation is not a historical event, or a personal goal but a motivator for action or a model of a perfect life. Incarnation means that truth is not formal and the world is not material, but truth is concrete and the world is living in truth. Man only can do this connection between truth and the world. Eschatology is not a material thing in a concrete world which will come materially at the end of this world, but it expresses the human hope that the future contains more value than the present. If now injustice prevails, justice will surely prevail in the future. Eschatology is an imaginative expression of human hope in justice and truth. Phenomenology in this sense may serve as a hope of a revolutionary theology because it puts the material facts between brackets and tries to seek for meanings.

10. A theoretical religion which concentrates all its powers on meditation or in formulation of new dogmas is an inactive religion which is incapable of changing. When God spoke, He did not give a

theory for the sake of theory, but He revealed motivations in human nature for action. Moses led his people. The Prophets reformed the states and sacrificed themselves in action. Jesus has not only said: "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful even unto death" (Mt XXVI, 38) but he died in fact. What will change the world if Jesus was homousios or homoiousios? All dogma of Redemption will not save anyone. All theories and novels on hunger do not prevent a hungry person from dying.

In a revolutionary theology, logos is accomplished in praxis. Dogma is a motivation for action. All the preaching of the world is still below one inch of changing the world. The martyr of Tarres on the mountains shakes all the dogmas of the world. The praxis is the only heir of logos. The praxis is not only individual but it becomes more effective in a group. The revolutionary party is the natural heir of the councils and the Sanhedrins.

11. Every theology based on consolation is a reactionary theology. Consolation means the affirmation of the ***status quo*** and the acceptance of Fate. Consolation evaporates all revolutionary feelings accumulated from misery. Sometimes eschatology serves for a purpose if the hopes for a new coming world is used as a consolation in order to accept and to resign. Consolation is the major term which included all passive values like resignation, reliance, patience, contentment, and such other value affirmed in mysticism.

A theology of revolution is essentially a theology of negation, of refusal and of rejection. Man has to say No. The Devil is a great educator of man because of this power of negation. The Devil has still something from God, and from man, spirit of negation. Islamic faith begins with a negation "No divinities..." before the affirmation "... except THE ONE". In the Third World, masses can never move without this spirit of negation. Negation is a highest form of religious practice. Negative theology has more value and power than positive theology. Negation characterizes the spirit of time. In such a way religion can be introduced again to the youth through the spirit of negation.

The glory of the great Prophets is in their negation of the evils of the state and the corruption of the Kings and Rabbis.

12. Love has always been taken as the highest virtue in every religion. It has been glorified in mysticism and in ethics. Love unifies while hatred separates. Love abolishes antagonism and discordance. Man changes by Love. Instead of finding a solution for his problems in the outside world, he has to retire to himself, to change himself and to convert himself to love. Does not changing the self precede changing reality? Theology of love which abolishes all kinds of struggle and opposition is indeed a prototype of a reactionary theology.

A revolutionary theology admits the role of struggle and of violence in history. A unity is not to be claimed whatever the pride was. A unity in exploitation, in consolation, in oppression is not a unity. A unity may be done between two equals. A unity between a strong and a weak, between an oppressor and an oppressed, between an exploiter and an exploited is a unity in the interest of the strong, the oppressor, and the exploiter. The natural relation between two antagonists is struggle. How could the oppressed love the oppressor? How could an exploited love the exploiter? Struggle is a reaction to the absence of love. The absence of love from the stronger side cannot be faced by presence of or love from the weaker side. The dialectic of the master and the slave is a natural, rational and eternal dialectic.



The Black Muslim Movement in America

Who is The One the scriptures meant?
Elijah Muhammad.

Who is The One Allah has sent?
Elijah Muhammad

Who leads where others fear to tread?
Who raised us from the living dead?
Who put a crown upon our head?
Elijah Muhammad.

Our Messenger-without a fault.
Elijah Muhammad.

Through him we live the life we ought:
Elijah Muhammad.

He raised us up from low degree.
He gave us strength through unity.
May Allah bless him graciously.
Elijah Muhammad[1].

The purpose of this paper is neither to describe the history of the Black Muslim movement nor to expose its doctrines but to analyze its major ideas in relation to the psycho-social conditions in which these ideas have originated. Instead of using one method, psychological,

(1) C. Erie Lincoln, The Black Muslims In America (Boston: Beacon Press- 1973, p. 195-196. Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, 1974.

psychoanalytical, sociological, structural, or phenomenological, I will use whatever I can from the sociology of knowledge which takes most of the previous methods in consideration with more emphasis on the relation between the idea and the situation. That does not lead necessarily to construct from knowledge a branch of sociology or to reduce the idea to mere historical Circumstances. The idea also has its impact on reality. It is at the same time an effect and a cause. The relation between the superstructure and the infrastructure is not unilateral but dialectical. An ideology is a system of ideas derived from certain circumstances and change them simultaneously. Every step corrects the other, and adapts itself again and again in order to keep the relation between, logos and practice alive [(1)].

One of the main issues in the ideology of the Black Muslim movement is the divinity of man. God is immanent. He appeared in the person of Fard Wallace Muhammad who appeared to Elijah Muhammad because he saw in him the Messiah of the black man [(2)]. The Messiah has divinity in him. Therefore, God is not a mystery like the white man is propagating in order to subdue the black man and to doom him in ignorance. Teaching God as a mystery enslaves the minds of the ignorant. When the white man explains the mystery of God as Trinity he is confusing the black man and adding to his ignorance.

The true God appears. "Today, the God of Truth and Righteousness is making Himself manifest, that He is not any more a mystery (unknown), but is known and can be seen and heard the earth over" [(3)]. The devils

(1) The analysis of the ideology is concentrated essentially on the ideology or the founder of the movement, Elijah Muhammad, rather than its ramification and variation in Malcolm X.

(2) Elijah Muhammad tells the story how he met God-Man. "Allah came to us from the Holy City Mecca, Arabia, in 1930. He used the name Wallace D. Fard, often signing it W.D. Fard, in the third year (1933). He signed his name, W.F. Muhammad which stands for Wallace Fard Muhammad. He came alone. He began teaching us the knowledge of ourselves of God and the devil, of the measurement of the earth, of other planets, and of the civilization of some of the planets other then earth." see Message to the Blackman, p. 16-17.

(3) Elijah Muhammad, Message To the Blackman In America (Chicago: Muhammad Mosque of Islam No. 2, 1965), p. 3.

(the white race) make God a mystery and rob the poor so called Negroes from their knowledge. God will come in Person to wake the black man and save him from the devils and their teachings. "Because of the false teaching of our enemies (the devils). God has made himself known. for I teach not the coming of God but the presence of God, in person. This kind of teaching hurts the false teachings of the devils, for they knew that God would come in person after you. They (the devils) also are aware that God is present among us, but those of you who are asleep they desire to keep asleep" (1). God is not a spirit but a man and He cannot be other than a man. Any attempt to make God other than a man is a conspiracy to hide the truth from oppressed people. The oppressors, those who have power, like to make God spirit, unseen and unknown to exploit the oppressed more and more.

The Messiah is also a messenger. He is the only person who has true knowledge. The prophetic vision and knowledge has more impact on the oppressed than discursive reason. Reason is used in a well established order by the Bourgeois to rationalize the word in order to subdue it for their benefits. Elijah Muhammad gives himself the title. "The messengers of Allah", and the 'teacher'. The Messiah has something divine. The spirit of God is in him God Himself appeared to Elijah Muhammad as Messia, the 'Mahdi'. "I asked him, who are you, and what is your real name? He said: I am the one that the world has been expecting for the past 2,000 years... My name is Mahdi; I am God. I came to guide you into the right path that you may be successful and see the hereafter" (2).

The Messiah is a charisma-type of leadership. An oppressed community responds positively to the 'call of the Hero' (Bergson). An institutionalized leadership in a party or in an office does not appeal to a depressed and anguished men who are looking more for salvation than for organization. The messianic movement is the prototype of

(1) Ibid., p. 5.
(2) Ibid., p. 17.

religions of revolution or theologies of liberation. That explain why Elijah Muhammad adds 'Leader' to his titles.

In the Black Muslim ideology all religions are one. Judaism, Christianity, and then Islam reveal the same reality and communicate the same massage. All prophets have called their people to Islam. Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, Moses, Joseph, Jesus and Muhammad all are Muslims who have transmitted the message of Islam. The Bible and the Holy Qur'an both contain the words of God. In the Qur'an the words have been authentically transmitted, but in the Bible it has been tampered with. "The enemy has tampered with the truth in both books. (New and Old Testaments) for he has been permitted to handle both books" (1). The white man commits more and more errors because he has not understood what was contained in the Bible. The Qur'an has many synonymous like the distinction (between right and wrong), the fight, the truth ...etc. The Qur'an rejects the doctrines of original sin and salvation. Why man carry the burden of another and why would another person come and save him from a sin which he has not committed? Why should everybody pay for a mistake done by one person? It is not possible that the Just God will condemn "the whole of mankind for the sin of one man" (2). According to Elijah Muhammad the Bible should be called the Poison book because it poisons the minds of the so-called Negroes.

Most of the ideologies, if not all, are not sciences but they are human options based on strong convictions. Ideologies stereotype realities and facts, always to signify what ideologies want it to signify. That is why they invent the double level of understanding, a superficial and deep, a proper and a metaphorical, a literal and a spiritual. All prophecies in the past have been reinterpreted in the function of the present. Esoterism becomes the preferred technique of reading the present in the past. Elijah Muhammad uses the scripture, both Old and New Testament, because it is read by the blacks. This

(1) Ibid., p. 90.
(2) Ibid., 91.

background is used for the final Crystallization of these religious reservoirs. "Islam is the religion of Allah and the only way to success" [1]. He uses frequently the apocalyptic sections of the Bible, Ezekiel, John, fitting all in his prophecy for the supremacy and the future victory of the black people. He repeatedly gives the example of Moses against the Pharaoh, the liberation of the Hebrews.

Most messianic movements are eschatological. It carries a vision of the future and gives a description of the end of the world. Every oppressed community creates its own future utopia. The Jews in captivity in Babylon created their own eschatology which they did not have before. The Christians during the Roman persecution, created also their own eschatology in the famous 'Apocalypses'. Psycho-analysis make from every eschatology and utopian thought a projection based on deprivation and frustration. People imagine what they do not have. The Black Muslim's ideology is a special case. Although it is an ideology of the oppressed, the poor, and the wretched of the earth, it has no eschatology. The last judgment is done here. "Today is the day in which the God of Justice (Allah) is judging between man and man and nation and nation" [2]. All what people except in the other world is happening now in this world. This denial may be a reaction to the Christian ideology which promises and does not give. Or it is a reaction to the white eschatology based on hypocrisy and illusion. It could be also that the black Muslims ideology wants to give the oppressed a sense of reality, and a strong commitment to the world, rejecting all "opium's of the people".

The hereafter of the white masters is the one which promises the slave in the future what he does not have in the present to keep the slaves under control. The white master lies to the slaves by promising them life after death knowing that, death settles all and there will be no return for the slaves to discover the truth. The white's tortures of the blacks on this earth are parts of this eternal damnation, and the glories

(1) Ibid., p. 30.
(2) Ibid., p. 28.

of the black people now are also parts of their benedictions. The hereafter means the destruction of the present and the reconstruction of a new kingdom on earth. The Nation of Islam is the best representative this kingdom. There will be resurrection not physical but mental. The blacks are those who need the most this mental resurrection because they are the most mentally dead.

The rebirth of the black nation is congruous to the "Fall of America". The reintegration of the blacks is a takeover of the disintegration of the whites. This is the judgment, the universal conception of the white civilization represented by America and the rebirth of the Black Nation represented by the Nation of Islam. The first according to Elijah Muhammad is described by the Qur'an: "Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea on account of that which men's hands have wrought, that He may make then taste a part of that which they have done, so that they may return" (1). The fall of America appears in the destructive factors inherent in this society of devils: War machinery, freedom of sex, decline of the dollar. inflation, hatred, competition, slavery, and crimes. "Allah hates the wicked American whites and threatens to remove them from the face of the earth" (2). Islam is the only religion "that will survive the destruction of this wicked civilization" (3). America is like the ancient Babylon. It is doomed to fall.

America is the hell and the Black Nation is paradise. The place of the Judgment is here in America. All the prophecies of ancient prophets are now fulfilled in the present. All of them have predicted that "the white race's days are drawing to a close. Their rule over the darker nations must end, according to Allah (God) and His prophets. This world must give way for a world of righteousness" (4). When the Mahdi appeared to Elijah he' described to him the destruction of the world with bombs, poisons, and finally with fire that would consume

(1) Holy Qur'an, 30:41.
(2) Message, p. 270.
(3) Elijah Muhammad, The Fall of America (Chicago: Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2. 1973), p. 19.
(4) Message, p. 230.

and destroy everything. The break-up of the old world is a sign of a build-up of a new one. The end of the white man is the beginning of the colored race (Black, brown, red, and yellow). The beginning of the new kingdom of heavens is not a real beginning but rather a resurrection of a people who existed before and was the origin of mankind.

Black Muslim ideology is from a dualistic type. The relation of the two poles of the diode is opposition. One excludes the other. The survival of one is the destruction of the other. The polarity of black white which is a historical condition has been transformed to an eternal type of polarity between right and wrong, good and evil, angel and devil. The relation of the two poles is reversed in history by the original sin of the white man. The white is the master, the black is the slave. This reversal is the work of the devil. It is a disturbance in the Divine plan. The Messiah has to come to restitute order to the universe, absolve the sin of the white man and annihilate the work of the devil. The black man becomes master as he was before the sin, the white man becomes a slave as a punishment of the devil. The tribe of Shabbaz, the original tribe has been lost by the work of the devil, the white man, and will return to its original status as the original of mankind. Using Christian vocabulary, the sin of the devil will be redeemed. The guilt of the white man will annihilate him and the world will return to its primitive innocence, to its father. The tribe of Shabbaz came 60 trillion years ago at the same time with earth when a great explosion on this planet divided it in to two parts, the earth and the moon. The tribe was the first to discover the best parts of the planet, the Nile Valley of Egypt and Meecian Arabia. God loved this black tribe and decided to put them on the top. The original man is the black man. He has to begin by knowing himself and recognizing his opponent, the devil in the person of the white man. "The original man" Allah has declared is none other than the black man. The black man is the first and last, maker and owner of the universe. From him came all brown, yellow, red, and white people. By using a special method of birth control law, the black man was able to produce

the white race" [1]. If the white man has failed to perform his duty, the question what is to be done is easy to answer. The blacks have to accept their own return to their own kind on some of this earth, teach their own, and help their own. The white people consider themselves the chosen people and now it is time for them to know that they are not and never will be chosen people. They are the chosen people of the devil.

The complex of inferiority has been transformed to a complex of superiority. The white racialism has been converted to a counter black racialism. E. Lincoln noticed that "the Black Muslims have gone a step further and have created ideology for themselves a counter-myth, the myth of the black supremacy" [2]. A Functional may be in certain conditions better than a rational and scientific ideology. The black man will be deaf to any ideology proclaiming the equality between whites and blacks. In the black psychology, the white is the devil and the Black Muslim movement uses that psychology in its full capacity. The Negro is dropped and the Black is affirmed. If the Negro was the label which the white man stuck on the black man, the black is the new epithet which the black man is proud of the despised Negro is now the beautiful black. "If the white circle leaders want to keep their circle white, say keep it white. If the Ku Klux Klan want to keep their race white, I say, help yourself, go to it. Now when I say to keep mine black-white Circle League German Nazi-keep your mouth out of it" [3].

All black ideologies that call for love of the enemies and for simple civil rights will not save the black man. All black Christian leaders like Martin Luther King are victims of the game of the white man. Christianity is the religion of the white man and there is no hope for blacks in it. Christianity is a religion "organized by the enemies (the white race) of the Black Nation to enslave us to the white races rule"[4].

(1) Ibid., P. 53.
(2) Lincoln, P. XXIII.
(3) Message. P. 169.
(4) Ibid., p. 221.

Dr. Essien-Udom in his book "Black Nationalism" explains that "the need for identity and the desire for self-improvement are the two principal motives which lead individuals to join and to remain in the Nation of Islam" (1). The need and search for identity goes to the extreme in the Black Muslims ideology and becomes separatism. The Nation of Islam is the independent black nation of America. No back to Africa' of M. Garvey, but "forward in America". The creation of a separate black state is the only salvation for blacks in America. All blacks whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, should be allowed to establish a separate state of their own. The integration of the blacks within the white society is a devilish plan to delude the black people and destroy their identity. Only separation and independence permit the black people to realize their own identity. "We must have some of this earth to produce, our people's needs... It is far more important to teach separation of the blacks and whites in America than prayer" (2). Now it is time for auto-determination. Every black man. and woman should have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the whites and establish a land of their own. The education of the blacks has to be in separate schools. The blacks have to drop the slave names and have new black names. A good name is better than the whole treasure of this earth. The white's man names those of beast like: Bears, Hogg, Fox, Bull, or of marine creatures like Fish, Salmon, But the black names should be the only names. "Allah (God) came to give you better names that have a better meaning, a greater meaning, an eternal meaning" (3).

Intermarriage between blacks and whites has to be prohibited. Marriage between blacks has to be encouraged in order to multiply. Birth control is an invention of the white man to destroy the black man. The devil white man through birth control wants to exterminate the black race. "Do not let them trick you"(4).

(1) E.U. Essien-Udom: Black Nationalism; a search For an Identity in America. New York, Dell Publishing Co., 1969, p. 95.
(2) Message, p. 203-4.
(3) The Fall, p. 98.
(4) Message, p. 67.

The struggle between the two poles of the diode lead to violence. The Black Muslim movement is equated with violence and became a part of the black power. Religion became militantism. The black Muslims, although Shiaite in ideology, are Shiaite as well as Kharigite in practice. The revolt against the oppressor is the word of order which can be obeyed in every time and in every space. Revolutionary violence is a reaction to oppressive violence. The first is self-defense, while the second is aggression. "The Muslims are a peaceful people and do not do carry arms, but the heartless enemy devils care not for peace, they were created and made to hate peace" (1).

The *'Jihad'* takes a new turn and becomes not the march of a free society to liberate another, but the revolt of the oppressed society to free itself first: *Jihad* is absolutely a defensive war, an organized revolutionary violence which expresses a natural human reaction to aggression. "Night and day they are out seeking a chance to beat and kill you, while at the same time you are out seeking to show them how much you love them. A very foolish people you are, How can anyone, other than you (so-called Negroes) love an open enemy?" (2) Elijah Muhammad is explaining the Our'anic verse: "to those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, God is Most Powerful for their aid" (3).

In the Black Muslim movement the social and revolutionary aspects of Islam appeared clearly. Religion is a revolution. Conversion is social change. Islam is the highest fulfillment of the oppressed, the fulfillment of his desires for freedom, justice, and equality. It is a spiritual as well as a material fulfillment like good jobs and decent homes. Although Islam is submission to the Will of God, this submission implies rejection of all other submission to the white man. Islam, as submission to God frees the black man from his submission to the white man. Islam means peace but there is no real peace, with oppression.

(1) Ibid., p. 204-5.
(2) Ibid., P. 205.
(3) Holy Qur'an, 22:39.

Peace comes after the oppressed is freed, not before. Islam is the religion of the black people. It is able to give them real actions instead of false promises. "The emblem of Islam represents the sun, moon, and stars, the meaning is Freedom (sun), Justice (Star), and Equality (Moon)" [1]. Islam can create the universal community of brotherhood. "All the believers of Islam are the brothers of the others, unlike Christianity, where the white Christians are too proud to make the black people their equal" [2]. While Islam means salvation for every one believing in it, Christianity "is one of the most perfect black slave making religions on our planet. It has completely killed the so-called Negroes mentally" [3]. Louis Lomax correctly observed that Elijah Muhammad has deeply shaken the Negro Christian community. "Muhammad's recital of how the Christian faith has failed Negro.. has sunk deeper into the hearts of the Negro masses" [4].

Islam according to Elijah Muhammad is the religion of black people by nature. It is not an European organized white man religion. It is the only religion which saves people against their enemies rejecting submission and oppression. It is a powerful religion. I makes the week stronger, the slave free, and the humiliated full of pride. It dignifies the black man and makes him clean internally and externally. It removes fear because the Muslims "fear none but Allah" [5]. It teaches the black people to know and love each other and hate their enemy. It destroys superstitions and gives the true knowledge and the exact history of the black people. And finally it is the only religion which has a divine power to unite people and to prepare them to be be on the top of civilization.

The new society becomes autonomous. It has its own modes of production, its own merchants and clients. New schools are founded to perform the black Muslims education, independent sport clubs,

(1) Message, p. 77.
(2) Ibid., p. 71.
(3) Ibid., p. 70.
(4) Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Harper and: Row, 1971), p.188.
(5) The fall, p. 25.

banks without profit, ...etc. The economic program for the community is part of religion. Religion and society are the same. All economic program is the realization in practice of the black Muslims ideology relative to economics namely: freedom, justice, and equal opportunities. The program for self-development includes: pooling of black resource education and qualifications for independence, making from the neighborhood a decent place to live, building homes, schools, hospitals, and factories, stop buying expensive cars, fine clothes and shoes before being able to live in a fine home, spending the black money among the blacks, building an autonomous economic system for the blacks.

This economic program cannot by realized without a new mind or a new charter for the black soul which Elijah Muhammad expresses in his Blueprint. It stipulates that the blacks have to unite themselves in group-operations (activities). They have to stop criticizing everything which is black-owned or black-operated. They have to stop being jealous of each other because jealousy destroys as it did to the white man. They have to observe the operations of the white man which made him successful. Hard-working, self-organizing which are the real values of the black man stolen from him by the whites. This new mind will permit the blacks to gain a place in the sun now and here and here and now, beginning by the self.

The strict morality of the Black Muslims ideology gains great attention and admiration of those who write about the movement. Lomax in his book "The Negro Revolt," explains that Muslims do not drink, smoke, dance, or dope. A Muslim is always clean and has a job. You can never see him with a woman other than his wife. There is no Muslim who will not stop and come to the aid of any black woman he sees in trouble [1]. In such circumstances where the black Americans live: freedom of sex, crimes, alcoholism, drugs, and of identity, the strict morality changes them to puritan ethics, literal and stringent as they are. The practice by Black Muslims of Institutional marriage, the abstention of alcohol and drugs, the mutual respect

(1) Lomax, P. 199.

between the members, made them a model of a new society exempt from police patrols. Instead of a society made from isolated individuals, a new society is formed through face to face relationship to make a community of faith and love. Prayer in Islam is rightly explained as a way towards virtuous life. Prayer is not a ritual or an end in itself, but a mean to something else, righteousness. The great Mahdi is named 'Fard' which means the compulsory prayer. Lincoln attributes this strict morality to the denial of the after life. "In their day-to-day living. the Muslims are governed by a stringent code of private and social morality. Since they do not look forward to an after life, this morality is not related to any doctrine of salvation. It is quite simply the style of living appropriate to a divine black man in his capacity as true ruler of the planet earth" (1).

Elijah Muhammad gives special care to dietary laws in Islam. He revifies the old Jewish model: obedience to God through obedience to the Law. In his opinion, Muslims eat to live not to die. To live a long and healthy life, Muslims should not eat pig, pork, or swine. Swine eats anything, pork contains worms, and pig is poison. Meat in general is against life but beef and Limb are accepted. Food should be fresh not frozen. It should be well cooked and simple. No food between meals for the stomach to rest. Fasting is recommended because it is the key to long life. If Muslims follow these rules, medicine will not be needed and doctors will be useless. "Nature has not set a certain time for anyone to die. We live as long as we are able to keep living according to what we eat and drink (2).

The respect of woman is important in the Black Muslims movement. "We believe our women should be respected and protected" (3). Her respect is the respect of one's self. The mother is the first nurse and first teacher. "If you don't protect your mother, how do you think you

(1) lincoln, p. 83.

(2) Elijah Muhammad, Haw To Eat to live; Book 2 (Chicago, Temple of Islam No. 2, 1972), p. 59.

(3) Message, p. 10.

look in the eyes of other fellow human beings?" (1) For Elijah Muhammad, it is impossible for the black man to control or protect his woman as long as he is in the white man's false religion called Christianity. It is only Islam who elevates the woman and gives the man the power to protect her. "Nothing but Islam will make you a respectable people... There is no delinquency in Islam" (2).

It will be unjust to apply criteria of theoretical truth to the Black Muslim movement. Lincoln comments that "myths are outside the realm of the true or the untrue. They are subject neither to the rules of logic nor to the technique of scientific investigation"(3). It is a Black American interpretation of Islam. In theory, the imminence of God, the continuation of prophecy, the denial of the after life, and the racial interpretation of life and history may be wrong. But in practice, in relation to the American condition, these directives are 'functionally' working. That explains why many black Muslims, after adhering to the Nation of Islam and requiring all the instantaneous benefits of it: pride, identity, morality, community, and power begin to look also for truth in theory. Then they leave the Nation of Islam to Islam, converting from the immense of God to the Transcendence of God, from continuation of prophecy to fulfillment of prophecy in Islam and the continuation of reason. They convert from the denial of after life to the affirmation of after life, and from racial pride to universal community. As if the dialectic of the movement begins as an extreme reaction to the American action and later the intermediary between the two extremes is discovered. Indeed the *Umma* of Islam is described in the Qur'an as intermediary *Umma*. Malcolm X is the most fascinating example of this transformation from the Black Muslims ideology to the Islamic ideology, from the Nation of Islam to the *Umma* of Islam.

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(1) Ibid., p. 59.
(2) Ibid., p. 60-61.
(3) Lincoln, p. 70.

Bantu Prophets in South Africa

If great discoveries are essentially those of methods, great studies are also those based on methods. This what "Bantu Prophets" failed to realize. The author presented to us a lot of materials on the subject but without theory. He transmitted to us raw materials without any theoretical analysis. The only theory appears in the Introduction "Approaching the problem" and is rather two principals or guidelines:

A motto from Bishop Gore which says: "What I mean is that we have got to put into all bodies of Christians the Consciousness that continuous life depends on continuous principals" [1]. This principal indeed is not a theory but a new missionary way aiming at bringing the independent churches again within the unity of churches. The purpose of such a principle is to try to abolish the polarity between the white church and the Black church, not for religious motives, the conservation of the unity of the churches but for political motives, the abortion of the emerging revolution through religion. Bishop Gore explains clearly his motives by saying: "On almost all sides, I notice in respect of what might be called in the broadest sense, the religion

(*) A Book-Review of B.G.M. Sundkler: Bantu-Prophets in South Africa. I will not summarize but I will ask the big questions the book asks and discuss the main issues the book presents. (Spring. 1775) .

(1) Ibid., p. 17.

of the Protestant Christianity, a tendency to drift. Men are conscious that what they used forcibly to assert was essential to Christianity they no longer are willing to assert" [1]. The purpose of the book is to absorb the protestant movement of the Africans converted to Christianity by the missionaries and to bring them back like the lost cattle of Israel for which Jesus came.

The impact of social discrimination upon the life of the Christian church is clear. This is not a principle or a theory but rather the intention of the study. Even more, this principle is protracted because it begins by racial discrimination as a fact without questioning it. The principle has not been analyzed in all its aspects and in its full extension: the refutation of the principle as pure racialism, known as Apartheid, the exposition of Christianity as an anti-racial religion, the struggle of the church against that fact in order to abolish it as institution. The author wanted only to bring back the Black church within the White church because the South African golden rules "No equality" and "No liberal interpretation of the Bible proclaiming of all men regardless of race and color." neither of these will lead to a secession!" [2]. The "practical necessity" for the white church to survive obliged it to be conform to the segregation policies rather than to proclaim the truth and to work for it. This determines the purpose of the book of being "practical" and that the African Christian "when left to himself" will stay inside the White church!"

The book is not based on any theory in anthropology or sociology or even in history. It has been written from a western, Christian and white view. Its purpose is practical, not theoretical, that of the continuation of the westernization of Africa through missionaries. The ancient history of Augustin against Donatus is repeating itself in modern times, not in North Africa, but this time in South Africa.

The independent churches mean its separation from the white church. It means independent Africa in opposition to colonial Africa.

(1) Ibid., p. 17.
(2) Ibid., p. 17.

Once more, religion appeared to be the parameters of revolution. Even if the Africans have not yet gained their political independence, at least their independent consciousness has been crystallized in religion. All names like: separatist, secessionist, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating aim to attenuate the opposition "Black VS White" which is an African reality, from both sides, the colonized and the colonizer. It has been very truly expressed by the slogan "***Net vir Blankes***" (Not for black). The separatist church is based essentially on nationalism. Dr. Brooks in the preface declares that the Europeans bare the burden of the secession. The separatist church is a natural reaction to the Apartheid, then defended by the Apartheid to mean Christianization of Africa against Africanization of Africa. "The independent Zulu churches may be well regarded as a symptom of an inner revolt against the White's man missionary crusade..." [1]. The opposition between the two churches was the result of the Europeans inspired among the Zulu Leaders [2]. The relation of the two was that of a master to a slave. The African has to say "yes" to whatever the White orders him to do. The American Negro poet has interpreted the whole drama of the Black people saying.

Because my mouth is wide with laughter,

and my throat is deep with song,

You do not think I suffer after,

I have held my pain so long.

Because my mouth is wide with laughter

You do not hear my inner cry.

Because my feet are gay with dancing,

You do not know I die [3].

(1) Ibid., p. 19.
(2) Ibid., p. 25.
(3) Ibid., p. 36.

Another Zulu nationalistic hymn says:

Africa rise! And seek thy Saviour

To day our sons and daughters are slaves [1].

The golden rule of South African Calvinism "*Geen geligstelling*". no equality between Black and White in Church or in state, in fact and in every day practice, has been accepted by many other Churches. "Separatism has been the result of a very large extent of the presence of the color bar within the Christian church" [2]. The movement began in 1910 by a repressive policy in Natal [3].

Unlike the Cargo Cult, Bantu Prophets were not so radical for some reasons: First, their conversion to Christianity brought within it a "*rapprochement*" between Blacks and Whites which prevented a real opposition between the two poles of the tension. The Bantu Prophets were, although in their own way, with their independent church. The issue then was a conflict of power, an affirmation of authority and a desire for leadership. Second, the movement of Bantu Prophets was void from any socio-economical interpretation unlike the Cargo Cult which was based essentially on the goods, the ancestors will bring. The absence of economic factor in this movement prevented the opposition between exploited and exploiter to appear.

Even if some revolutionizing values has appeared like labor and land, it stayed without producing an ideological or a political breakthrough. "The native question is the land question..." [4]. It can be said that the separatist problem is a land problem. The emergence of the separatist church is parallel to the tightening squeeze of the natives through land's legislation" [5]. The "Color bar Act" tried to solve the problem of unemployment by substituting Whites to Blacks. The big topic implied

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(1) Ibid., p. 196.
(2) Ibid., p. 37.
(3) Ibid., p. 65.
(4) Ibid., p. 33.
(5) Ibid., p. 33.

in the book, although not openly declared, is "African Christianism". The question is not who made it "The faults and defects of European missionary work" or "the desire of the Zulu People to find some synthesis between their own tribal religion and Christianity" as Brooks suggests [1], but which function it played and why such a synthesis was possible? "African Christianism" tends to keep Africa as it is, colonized and westernized. Religion their is a factor of social stability, in spite of the Bantu 'Prophets movement and partial protest. It means the loss of African independence and cultural identity. Heir are some evidences which prove that African Christianism is possible, as it appeared in the Bantu Prophets but involving many risks regarding the natural development of Africa.

1. In Christianism, Incarnation makes it easier for the Africans to understand the Divinity rather than Transcendence which can be easily conceived by philosophers as it is the case in Islam. Although the White church has tried to attenuate the ***Witchkraft***, the Ancestors Worship and Magic, keeping and fortifying the concept of "High God" which existed already by the Zulus, the "High Good" appeared in history in the person of Jesus-Christ! The spirit became flesh! Christianity went then hand in hand with African religions in the material immanence of the Divinity. The Transcendence has been excluded for ever, although it could have helped radically in creating an absolute rational mind.

2. Chiristianism being a religion of mystery, the mystery of Incarnation, the mystery of the Eucharist ... etc., it consolidated the tribal feeling of mystery and all other mysteries in primitive Cults. Many Bantu Prophets, like Timothy Cekwane (born in 1873), recognized many mysterious events in their lives. A star with a long tail, blood gushed out of his sick hands ...etc. Blood is seen as a mystery like the stigma of the Lord! Mystery and Tabou are from the same order and play the same epistemological function in the destruction of reason and in obtaining blind obedience.

(1) Ibid., p. 4.

3. Christianism being based on the power of the spirit on the flesh, culminated in the miracle and magic processes, the Zulus found a new channel to pour from. Instead of dealing with illness, physical or psychological, in a medical and scientific way, a new form of magic, the miraculous healing appeared and magic survived. Zionist churches acted as a movement of Which finders. Scientific explanation of disease applies only for Europeans! Africans need a stronger magical protection! The healing of Africans have to occur through ritual healings! the Holy Spirit was easily conversable to spirits of magic[1].

4. Christianism being a ritualistic religion and in a very ceremonial way, primitive Cults of Africa survived and found in the religious practice the fulfillment of their old dances, songs, objects and colorful cloth. Baptism was very appreciated because of its ritualistic type. Icons were easily transferable to Totems. The Christian Pomp was very seductive and attractive. It goes parallel to African decorative style of life. Progress in religion has always been from the external to the internal, from the surface to the depth, from space to time and from the thing to the idea.

5. In Christianism, power is central by the presence of clergy and the institution of the church. The main reason for the separatist church was the conflict of power and the power struggle. African Leaders did not want to loose their power on the tribes in the name of religion. They wanted very much to be the new priests. The wide varieties of independent church in South Africa occurred according to the same power struggle between white priests and indigenous priests. The chance for a religion without authority does generates that kind of risks. On the contrary, it gives every proselyte his own autonomy. Every one becomes his own master.

6. Biblical Traditions, Christianity being one of it, are the work of myriad of Sears, Devins, Zelots, Prophets ...etc. A man appears declaring having a vision or a dream and begin to found a religion. This prophecies fulfilled the desire of African tribes for divination

(1) Ibid., p. 297.

and vision. There were always Seers proclaiming a special relation with the Holy Spirit. The possibility of a continuous revelation which Christianism offers is very adequate to the desire of the natives for visions. Consequently, religion will be a matter of feelings and emotions not of reason. Its function will be foretelling the future not analyzing the present.

7. Christianism is a messianic religion, Jesus being the Messia. Therefore, it fortified the feeling of many tribal leaders to proclaim themselves as Messias. Shembe, Hambule, Lekganyane and Pauto Nuzuza are coming soon from the North as well as Jesus of the Book [1]. John Masowe, the secret Messia is coming from the South. John died when he was seventeen and rose from death. All of them are Black Messias who received the Holy Spirit and came to the Zulus. None of them is White. Consequently, the oppressed will be always waiting the Savior without liberating themselves ***Hic*** and ***Nunc***. And they may wait long!

8. In Christianity, salvation is in its heart. Jesus-Christ is the Savior. Accordingly, African Christianism became also salvavic religion. Africans have to wait the appearance of a Messia in order to be saved. Although a messianic hope is a desire for liberation but it can never be materialized without a real appearance of the Messia who has to load the oppressed towards victory. The liberation then occurs from above, not from below. It is done by the leader not by the masses. Therefore, Africans will be always in need of Charisma and will be always dependent on it. What is happening now on the political scene regarding, the "Redeemer" may he a manifestation of that type of religion and culture.

However, a new African religion has a better chance to survive without risks. The Black Christ movement is a triumph of Africanism on Western Christianism. Hier, Africa has not been Christianized and westernized but western Christianism has been Africanized. A nationalistic

(1) Ibid., p. 323-30.

Christianity affirms the cultural identity and national independence of Africa.

The Black Christ movement is a real survival of Africanism facing, the linking of Africa to a pseudo-biblical hope of the "Ethiopian Church" or the Zion Church and its Messia, the King of Judea, the Lion of Lions! The ambivalence of the Bantu prophets was the following: On one hand, it includes the slogan, "Africa for Africans" and it is a reaction against the white mission's conquest of the African Peoples; on the other hand, their church organization and the Bible interpretation are largely copied from these patterns of the Protestant mission church from which they have succeeded, even if, they patterns hare become of necessity, modified by African stress, on rank and ritual"[(1)].

In the book, Islam has never been mentioned, rightly or wrongly, although in South Africa in general and in Durban in particular there is a substantial Muslim population. Islam is an ideological offer to the natives as well as Christianity. It is up to Africa to choose between the destruction of African cultural identity and independence as it is the case through African Christianism missionaries or the affirmation of African cultural identity and independence through Islam.



(1) Ibid., p. 54.

Religious Change & Cultural Domination

This paper includes two parts:

I. Islamization as a Natural Process with some examples from Africa in order to show how the new value-system absorbs the old without destroying it. The new comes to perfect the old, not to abolish it. This happens according to a pure natural process where the Universal absorbs the particular, and the particular finds its identity in the Universal. In that case, it is not a cultural domination of the new value- system but a cultural upheaval of the old value-system within the new.

II. Religious Change under Foreign Domination with some examples from the reformist movements in the Muslim World. In that case, a less developed value-system comes and tries to dominate a more developed one, against the natural process. This produces a reaction of the new value-system as a cultural domination and the reinterpretation of the old value-system as Theology of Liberation, a self-defensive measure against foreign domination.

This paper is in no way apologetic. It describes things as they are using natural reason and actual evidence. Counter-analysis, based

(*) International Congers of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa. Mexico, D.F. 3-8. VIII. 1976.

on dogmatic motivations and selective facts, a confusion between ideational value-system and historical one, is also possible.

The method used is a combination of structural and phenomenological methods; structural because it classifies religions into types, and phenomenological because it analyses the ideational level not the factual.

I. Islamization as Natural Process.

There are two types of religion, natural and supernatural. A natural type does not impose any extra religious data on nature but it does begin with nature and develops it. It does not force nature in order to make it more nature or less nature. Any effort to make nature more than it is makes it less. Any effort to make nature less than it is makes it more. In both cases, nature is different from itself. It becomes another, that means it becomes alienated. Nature loses itself and becomes the different other.

Islam is of the first type. Islam does not force nature or annihilates its construction, but remodels it changing its social structure. Islam is a natural religion in the full sense of the term. Neither does it impose anything extra on nature nor does it extract something out of it. Islam admits all constituents of nature, no more, no less. Natural religion in the West was a big gain in religious thought. It has been able to liberate religion from dogmatic, anti-historic and inspirational theologies. Although natural theology has been condemned in the West as anti-dogmatic, anti-historical and anti-inspirational it has been at the very bottom of Islamic theology. Islam is the religion of nature, the religion par excellence, the religion of Abraham.

It is possible and I may be wrong to classify Judeo-Christian religion in the second type, the supernatural. Christianity is a dogmatic, historic and inspirational type of religion. Incarnation, redemption, salvation, original sin, crucification, resurrection ...etc. are dogmas beyond nature, historical facts or not known by faith. Election, covenant, promise ...etc, are also from the same type, arbitrary

divine decisions without rational or moral justifications. It is possible that the so-called primitive societies may be more compatible with supernatural type of religion, namely a Judeo-Christian type. But indeed through education and natural process of development, societies switch from the supernatural type to the natural type. A supernatural type may appeal to Africa but does not develop it. It gives Africa what Africa already has. A natural religion expands naturally and in which Africa finds its identity.

In order to characterize what a natural religion is, the following points can be made:

1. A natural religion is monotheistic type. Monotheism is the expression of Divinity on the natural level, God is not only One but also Transcendent. Unity of God is coupled with his Transcendence. According to history of religion, Unity and Transcendence of God make a more developed religious type than pluralism and anthropomorphism. Unity and Transcendence present a higher value-system. On the other side, it may appear that Christianity is more compatible with primitive religions provided its concept of Divinity, pluralism, anthropomorphism and personification. God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is closer to genealogies of God which are very common to primitive religions. Immanence of the Spirit is also very common. "Mana" is every where and inherent to every natural object. A personified God may also appear closer to primitive religions, considered the divinity of the Leader. But through education and natural development of culture, this supernatural concept of divinity switches to another concept, namely the natural, where God is One and Transcendent.

2. A natural religion operates on our reason. No external help in theory is needed. Reason is the basis of Revelation. Reason has a broad sense including senses, experiences, laws of nature, course of history, customs and all natural evidences. In such a religion, there are no mysteries. Reality is the realm of clarity. It can be perceived, comprehended and judged. That is why Islam in Africa and elsewhere became identical to knowledge and science. The first verse in Revelation

is Qur'an means reading. Ignorance, doubt, conjecture, illusion and inspiration are rejected as sources of knowledge. Truth is simple. Religious foundations are self-evident. On the other hand, a supernatural type may be closer to inspiration, persuasion, vision and all similar categories of faith. Reality is a mystery and truth is complex. Ambiguity prevails over evidence, equivocity takes over univocity. Faith is a decision of the will not an act of reason. Evidence comes from outside, history of texts, not from inside, reason and insight. Primitive societies may be seduced by mysteries. Once education is launched, reason begins to work and clarity plus simplicity overcome.

3. A natural religion is based essentially on free will. No external help in practice is needed. Miracles are no more evidences neither for the existence and the omnipotence of God, nor for the veracity of prophecy. Natural laws are universal, necessary and conforming. In a supernatural religion, grace prevails over nature. No ***libre arbitre*** is possible without the intervention of a grace of any kind. A primitive religion may look like a supernatural one, the power of the spirit being everywhere. Once education expands, every person assumes his own destiny and rejects all external powers.

4. A natural religion is individualistic which admits the autonomy of man and his independence ***vis à vis*** religious system. Man assumes his individual responsibility. No one can sin for him, no one can save him. A natural religion is a religion without original sin and without salvation and redemption. Why should man stay so passive between Adam who sins for him and Christ Who saves him?! Adam is only responsible for himself. He misbehaved, repented and God forgave him. He is accountable only for what he does, once he becomes rational and capable. Christ can only save himself by his good deeds and not anybody else. Primitive religions may need a Savior, a Messiah and a Redeemer. But once education takes over, the salvivic type switches to an individualistic type. Salvation does not occur either by belonging to a group nor to a nation but only by the deeds of every person.

5. A natural religion puts man directly in relation with God, face to face, and in the world without any mediation of any person or any interposition. Islam has no clergy, no sacerdoce and no church. There is no danger of domination of the establishment and its deviations in history. A natural religion does not need any reformation because it is from the beginning a reformed religion, a religion without priests [1]. Man is declared autonomous. The obedience is only to God. Prayers and repentance are only in front of him. No confessions through human meditations are necessary. No icons are needed as mediations between man and God. It may appear that the so-called primitive religions are essentially future-teller, are the necessary mediations between the believers and the Spirit. It may appear also that these religions cannot spare sensible mediations, living or natural objects. But through education and natural growth of reason, all human, objects, institution, etc. are rejected and the direct relation between man and God on one hand and between man and the world on the other hand is established.

6. A natural religion gives priority to daily life over dogma. There is no religious data separated from life. Life itself is religion's data. A natural religion is the opposite of a dogmatic religion. In the first, dogma is only a motivation for good behavior or a foundation of praxis while in the second, dogma is a historical fact, a thing which exists in itself, regardless of the degree of perfection in life. A natural religion is a religion without dogma except a simple truth: the existence of a high principle of ethics which requires a code of morals, that means the existence of a universal principle, the affiliation of man to this principle and finally the realization of that principle through the good deeds. It may appear that primitive religions need some dogmas to fill the theoretical gap. But as soon as the believers become more rationalized, they switch from a dogmatic type of religion to a life-type.

7. A natural religion gives absolute priority to praxis over theory. There is no independent theoretical truth from praxis. Right

(1) Trimingham: Christian Church p. 32.

and wrong are known by practical criteria. Things are right in theory as long as they are useful in practice. Things are wrong in theory as long the they are harmful in practice. Utility and harm are not only individual but also social. They are not only personal but also common. They are not relative and subjective but absolute and objective. Islam expanded in Africa so quickly because Islam was useful in practical life: cleanliness, respect, equality, brotherhood and common cause. That explains why a theoretical type of religion has no success in Africa in spite of the extreme effort and the unlimited resources of missionary movements.

8. A natural religion does not include any rituals. Rituals are an extra-natural behavior. It includes practices of cleanliness of the body, the conservation of body health, the practices of internal piety and the affirmation of social solidarity. These are meaningful practices and in the same time useful for both individual and society. Rituals as symbolic actions may be meaningful but external and less useful. A good action is the heir of rituals. A good deed is the manifestation of external piety and the affirmation of social solidarity. In primitive societies, rituals may be important through healing processes and magic. But as soon as maturity is arrived at the good deeds take over formalities. The good deed is a holy prayer, constant and permanent throughout the day. Synagogues, churches, mosques, temples and other houses of worship are not needed. The whole earth is a temple and the good deed is the prayer.

9. A natural religion is a realistic one. It recognizes all the constituents of reality and takes it as its own point of departure. Marriage is real and no monasticism is permitted. Monastic life is anti-natural. Even polygamy is allowed in exceptional cases, the general law of nature being monogamy. These cases are when polygamy was the order of the time (Ancient Semite tribes). The institution reorganized by putting limits on number and giving rights to wives and children alike. ***Malikism*** (realistic Islamic canonic Law) accentuated the realistic trend in Islam. A supernatural religion may make war against polygamy

ignoring the imposing power of reality [1]. In addition, a natural religion is an elastic one by opposition to a static one. A dynamic type that readapts itself according to reality, no more, no less, That is why Islam has been able to reaccord itself according to local cultures. Islam became an African religion. Islamization meant Africanization. Other Supernatural religions meant westernization.

10. A natural religion is a universalistic religion. It does not recognize any kind of racial discrimination. The good deed is only what makes man different from the other in this world and in the other world. Intermarriage is possible and even recommended. Islam expanded throughout Africa by traders who mixed their blood with the African blood. Blood mixture is the carrier of the new value-system. The new converts to Islam became equal and partners of the original believers. All became soldiers for the expansion of the universalistic mission of the new religion. Converts are not defeated soldiers of vanquished people but a new strength for the new society. They share land and all kinds of spoils according to the ancient laws of war. A supernatural religion, on the other hand, may tend to paternalize the new converts. They are proselytes and the original believers are the pioneers. In addition, a universalistic religion is a tolerant one. "No coercion in religion" [2]. It permits the existence of other religion within the main one. No differences between man and woman exist either. Both have the same rights and the same duties. Natural differences physical and moral are admitted and refined. Islam expanded in Ethiopia through women[3]. Other supernatural religions may leave women behind making of man the only human power.

11. Universalism does not mean the loss of particularism but its affirmation as the carrier of universalism. A natural religion gives priority to local culture. It begins with it, develops it and remodels

(1) Turner: The impact of western education on the African way of life. p. 147.
(2) Qur'an. 2:256.
(3) Th. Arnold: The preaching of Islam pp. 450-1.

it. It rejects the domination of the so-called universal culture because culture is by nature the creation of a particular human group in a special time and in a special place and under special circumstances, namely Europe. A natural religion adapts to the local culture and identifies itself with it. Islamization is equal to rational culture in Malaysia, to Indian culture in India, to Arab culture in Arab lands and to African culture in Africa. Otherwise the local culture will be the victim of "acculturation", that means the destruction of the local national culture and the hegemony of the so-called universal culture, the western white culture. That caused a discontinuity between the present and the past and created uprooted persons from the African culture, neither white westerners nor black Africans [1]. On the other hand, a natural religion defends the autonomy of the local culture and prevents all kinds of cultural domination. In that case, the particular is the human being, the community and the local culture. The universal is the new value-system, based on the affirmation of a universal principle and its apparition in the good deed. Therefore, unity and diversity can be simultaneously affirmed, unity of the principle and diversity of local cultures. The real universal is a relation between particulars and the agreement on a common cause, rational and useful for all.

Islam intertwined with local cultures is a "healthy amalgamation". Islam became an African religion. Islamization and Africanization became identical. In addition, a natural religion is deeply rooted in the hearts of the converts. It does not concern itself with externals, namely clothes, rituals, and cults but it infiltrates to the very bottom of the self, it changes the ***Weltanschauung*** of the proselyte and becomes a part of his life. That is why it does not stay in his heart as a religion only but it expands as a culture. Once a natural religion is founded on reason and reality, knowledge and science will follow. Islam has been able to reach these dimensions in the new societies in which Islam expanded. Wherever Islam is, schools open their doors

(1) Trimingham: op. cit. p. 14; Turner: The impact of western education on African way of life, p. 147.

for knowledge and learning. Scholars are the heirs of the prophets. Disciples are equal in the right of reasoning. to masters. Islam has been able to unify the African culture by the unity of language. African languages have been transcribed in Arabic letters (Berber, Nabaty, Somaly, Hausa)[1].

12. A natural religion offers a more developed social system based on social justice and human equality. It prevents all kinds of exploitation and monopoly. No social classes are permitted. God possess everything on earth and in heavens. Human property is only to be used. The democratic state is the representative of mass-interests. It has the right of confiscation, of depossession and of nationalization in case of human misuse of that deposit. Islam expanded by acclamation through oppressed peoples. The Jacobite Patriarch (Michael the Great) in Egypt saw in the newcomers the divine justice in order to liberate the church from Roman persecution [2]. Egyptian soldiers were not loyal to the Byzantine Empire. They laid down their arms and surrendered to the newcomers. These points may prove that Islamization was in no way a cultural domination of local cultures but an upheaval through a natural process due to the very nature of Islam as a natural religion.

II. Religious Change under Foreign Domination.

A natural religion, because of its identification with national cultures. becomes, in case of foreign domination, a national movement. The affirmation of the national culture is at the same time the defense of the land. Islamization becomes identical to liberation. Examples can be derived from India, Malaysia, North Africa and Lebanon. The new converts saw in Islam a liberation from all kinds of despotism and exploitation from the Romans. Africans saw in Islam a liberation movement against domination [3]. Religious societies under foreign

(1) Palmer: The Bornu, Sahara and Sudan, pp. 5, 78, 273-4; Blyden: Christianity and the Negro race, pp. 13-19.
(2) Th. Arnold: op. cit., p. 73.
(3) Carpenter: The role of Christianity, Africa today, p. 10.

domination return to their own traditions as a self-defensive measure to secure themselves and to prevent themselves from identity annihilation. These societies reinterpret their traditions in terms of theologies of liberation and transform their religious orders to liberation movements. The Islamic model presents the following which might be shared by other traditions, in most cases they do share [1].

A. On theological level: New interpretations of religious ***Weltanschauung*** which represent dogma in a natural religion, are created and a process of modernism occurs as follows :

1. From the transcendence of God to the immanence of God: In order to reactivate religious concepts to become motives of Praxis, the Transcendence which was in the beginning of belief a rejection of all authorities except that of God reappears as an immanentistic concept of God. Through customs, ignorance, and usual lethargy, Transcendence becomes equal to extrencism, fixism, absolutism and domination. Foreign domination infiltrates and expands by affirming such concepts. It is easier to substitute foreign domination to religious absolutism. Mass psychology has been already prepared for it. Under foreign domination transcendence is reinterpreted as immanence. God is everywhere. He is not only is but also becomes. Immanence explodes in dynamism and pushes away all kinds of fixism and static vision of reality. God exists so far as the people work and struggle against foreign domination or internal exploitation. God relates to the liberalism of the land, to the recuperation of the wealth and to the independence of the country. God the very-high becomes God the very-low and the impersonal becomes personal. That does not mean necessarily the apparition of God the Messia. The figurization of liberation as a Divine Liberator is not necessary in a natural religion as it is in a supernatural.

(1) I have in mind several liberation movements for example (regardless of chronology): Saladin, Al-Mohades, Al-Murabitin, Wahhabiyah, Senuseyah, Mahmoud Ghasnawi of India, Rif revolt in Morocco, Omar Mukhtar in Lybia, Mahdyah movement in Sudan, Ginnah in Pakistan, Galiev in Russia, Muslim war in The Philippines ...etc.

2. from Predestination to Free Will: In any traditional society, stable and secure, predestination prevails on free will. God knows everything and has power over everything. Foreign domination becomes the spark through which the old value-system is reversed in order that free will prevails on predestination. Human will is no more in relation to Divine Will but a situation in the world. Free will against predestination becomes freedom against serfdom. Al-Afghani reinterprets predestination as predestination to death. Why should man live in fear if he is predestinated to die? Should not man then fight foreign occupation and die instead of dying under foreign occupation?

3. From ontological to Epistemological Evil: Traditional societies usually admit the existence of evil as necessary, in the tissue of the universe. God created everything, good and evil alike. In that way, evil is justified and affirmed. All Theodicies aim not to negate evil from the universe, but to prove the innocence or the justice of God. Under foreign domination evil becomes epistemological, that means a judgment of man on reality and not reality itself. Judgments differ because they express different points of view on different levels of being. Evil may be a negative judgment or privation. This human analysis of evil leads to human responsibility. Evil exists within human situations with all their sociological components. Once these situations change, evil disappears. Revolution becomes then necessary in order to negate evil from the universe. Evil in that case is foreign domination.

4. From Authority to Reason: Individuals in traditional societies are under several tutorships: customs, traditions, ancestors, cult, imitation, leaders, magicians, prophets ...etc. Man is declared imperfect and incapable of understanding. He needs an external help from the future teller or from an inspiration. That is why foreign powers support such classes in societies under domination because it prepares mass psychology for foreign tutorship. A liberation movement which begins as rational argument is substituted to authority argument. Man is capable of knowing. He does not need any external help even prophetical. He depends on reason which includes sense, experience, and factual

analysis. Processes of mystification and falsification launched by foreign powers are detected and discovered.

5. From Divine Intervention to Autonomy of Man: The authority of reason is indeed a prologue to the autonomy of man. Traditional societies tend to relate man to something else. Man needs to be educated directed, and guided. Under foreign domination, man appears autonomous in reason and action. He rejects all kinds of tutorship in theory and in practice as well. Foreign domination aims precisely to destroy the autonomy of the land and the autonomy of the person. Individualism and responsibility in natural religion explode under foreign domination. All the ideology of liberation is concentrated on the affirmation of the self. In Persian, the Self "***Khudi***" is derived from the same root as God "***Khuda***".

6. From Eschatology to hope: Traditional religious ideologies contain certain portion of eschatology which explains to the believers life after death without any special content or function. Under foreign domination eschatology changes to theology of hope or to philosophy of the future. Principles of divine justice, equality under the law. criteria of deed ...etc. are given political content and reemployed in order to serve the cause. namely the liberation of the land. Eschatology from that type does not only express a hope in a better future, but it actualizes that future in the present. A factual concept of eschatology is not necessary. A motivation-concept is enough.

7. From Logos to Praxis: In stable and secure societies, religion does not go beyond eternal truth to be believed in. It gives the hearts of the converts the necessary quietitude. Under foreign domination, eternal truth moves on the ground and quietitude becomes anxiety. Religion appears in a practical form. So far as the converts struggle against occupation forces they are believers. No belief is worthy if it does not serve the national cause. The holy war is precisely defensive war. It does not launch an aggression but rather a self-defensive measure or an active and positive reaction against military occupation. Believers become militants and religious thought becomes political ideology.

8. From Messianism to Mass Revolution: In traditional societies leaders may prevail on masses. They are close to Messiahs and Redeemers. Masses are busty in daily life, having given their absolute confidence to their leaders. Under foreign domination, leaders become charismatic and masses become active. Duality between rulers and ruled is surpassed giving to unity between heroes and peoples. Both are equal in the process of national struggle. Leaders are not eternal, assuming any kind of divine right or any hereditary legalism. Any one from the Masses proving on the ground quality of leadership can be claimed as a leader. The revolt against foreign. domination is carried out according to a pure democratic process.

B. On Philosophical Level: Philosophy in relation to theology represents a more developed ***Weltanschauung***. It depends on a more rational system and needs more educated and abstract minds. The following points can be made:

1. From Theology to Ontology: Theology in traditional societies represents a stage of cultural development. The distinction between God and the universe is made. God is necessary Being, the Universe is the contingent. Philosophy tries to surpass this duality making God being itself. ***Ontos*** is substituted to ***Theos***. This transition comes from the indestructible tie between God and the world. The necessity of political action requires that transition, the Divine Action in the universe. The militants are within God and God is everywhere. They are struggling for God's survival. Dangers of anthropomorphism are completely eliminated.

2. From Dualisin to Monism: Traditional dualism between God and the world or within the world between material and formal is transformed to pure monism. The danger of dualism on political action is the dissociation between the two Poles of reality, the ideal and the real. The ideal will give, self satisfaction and self justification that truth is present. The real will escape from the ideal and will be well received by foreign domination. On the contrary, Monism does not lead to this dissociation. The ideal will direct the real and the real

will be kept well conserved within the ideal. Foreign domination will be a foreign body within this indestructible union and therefore will be thrown out. In addition the dualistic concept of man, man is body and soul, gives also in normal situations a certain kind of disbalance. Because apparently, the cure of the soul is much easier because she needs only an individual care, the care of the body is left behind. The body needs more than an individual care. Body requires the change of body situation, that means the political and economical. Here the clash with foreign domination is a hindrance in front of the cure of the body. That is why the dualistic concept of man changes to a Monistic concept where man is what appears and takes space, that means man is body.

3. Form rituals to revolutionary acts: In traditional societies rituals may take over religious acts in general. There is no need for an active understanding of religious Praxis. Under foreign domination, rituals, expand and become identical to revolutionary acts. A natural religion permits such expansion because religious acts are daily life acts. Houses of worship are not needed to be built. Prayers are possible in the open air. Bunkers, castles, fortifications, armaments are substituted for houses of the Lord. No altars are necessary, but mountains or forests for guerilla Warfare. No flags to be carried but guns. No religious dresses to be put on but military uniforms.

4. From Theo-cosmology to History: Under normal circumstances, masses live in a theocentric world. They do not feel the need for history. They live in a beatic vision where eternity absorbs time. In that vision there is no sense of history. Under foreign domination, the need for history appears. Peoples are under foreign domination. Previously they were not. In the future they will be independent as they were in the past. Here appears history with its three dimensions, the present the past and the future. Man becomes not only in the ***Intensio*** but also in the ***Extensio*** using Augustinian terms. Man does not live only with God but also in the World. Eternity is intertwined with time. Life has not only a vertical dimension but also a horizontal one.

C. On Legal Level: Religion is not only theology or philosophy namely a ***Weltanschauung*** but also a practical method in life, individual and social as well. The theoretical conception is only a mean to an end, namely the transformation of that theory to a method of Praxis. The principles on which that theory is based are representable and realizable. After assimilation they become a part of self commitment. A new value-system comes out of the old for new foundations of the legal system as follows

1. From Formal law to content practice: In traditional societies, the dominant formal law inherited from the past is effective. The conformity with the code of law is the criteria of piety and of good religious life. Under foreign domination the formal law switches to a content practice. Reality, more than the code, becomes a source of law. The canonic law yields to the new requirements namely the clear and obvious status of reality. Reality itself becomes a form of law and at the same a matter of law. The traditional system permits this transformation in approach, the traditional law being a law of nature. If the law was a mean to an end which is perfect life, this end can impose its own means in case of distress. The content of law is surely the liberation of the land from foreign domination.

2. From Deduction to Induction: Under traditional system, law is derived from an ***a priori***, a Divine Command. Reality is only a recipient for that law, a passive carrier of the Divine Command. Under foreign domination, induction takes over. Through induction reality can appear in all its strength stronger than any Divine Command. The status of wealth is more imposing than any Divine Order regarding wealth. This is possible in a natural religion where commands themselves are reality requirements. Induction means the research for effective causes which are the main constituents of reality. Societies under foreign domination use language of numbers which is also that of the dominators.

3. From Text to Reality: Traditional societies deduce their own code of ethics from religious text. People find their identity in old traditions and make themselves conform to those traditions. Under

foreign domination societies switch from text to reality. Conformity with reality supersedes conformity with text. Meaning does not come from text any more through language and grammar but from social phenomena. Reality becomes the source of knowledge. Textual argument may prove a thing and its contrary at the time. But reality structure imposes itself clearly and univocally. The argument of authority is abandoned and the argument of reality takes over. No differences in understanding exist when the Intuition of reality is the only mean of perception.

4. From Letter to Spirit: Under normal circumstances, the codification of the letter is more important then the conservation of the spirit, being scare and facing no threats. Once foreign domination happens the spirit becomes in danger. More radical measures which do not stop at the letter are needed. Here the spirit rises facing the danger and making from itself the only criteria of judgment. New laws are decreed beyond the letter by the force of the spirit. The struggle against foreign occupation is a matter of spirit.

D. On the Spiritual Level: On the opposite side of legal systems come spiritual exercises which make with the first a balance between reason and heart, between inference and intuition, between law and love. Spirituality changes direction and content according to the social condition of human groups. This transformation of spirituality occurs as follows :

1. From passive to active values: Normal spirituality in a stable and secure society is void of content. It is self sufficient and at the same time makes a cover for the ***status quo***. Most of the values are passive like: resignation patience, obedience, contentment, reliance, ...etc. The new value system is more functional dealing with the new data, namely foreign domination. Spirituality is filled up with activity acquires a content. Spirituality is reemployed as a counter measure to foreign domination.

2. From Interiority to Exteriority: Spiritual exercises, those of the heart are interior acts. They aim to the transformation of the interior

man, not the exterior. All acts operate to the inside. Under foreign domination those acts are exteriorized to the outside world. The interior is full of energy exteriorized in real acts. Piety becomes revolutionary purity. Vision becomes revolutionary perception. Sincerity becomes revolutionary sacrifice. Mysticism is revolutionary without content, as subject without object. Revolution is mysticism with content, based on the unity between subject and object.

3. From Mystical Orders to Liberation Movements: Orders fill the social gap in mysticism. They constitute a substitute society after dropping out the real society. Orders form a closed society. Disciples are completely obedient to masters. Under foreign domination. these orders are transformed to liberation movements. The closed society becomes an open society. Disciples will have the right to revise the master. Both participate as equal partners. The sense of group is reaffirmed. Mysticism is no more the choice of some but the option of all in its new form. Mystic circles become revolutionary groups, houses of worship become mountains and forests for guerilla warfare.

4. From Theos to Pantheos: Religious societies normal situations believe in ***Theos***, high and transcendent. God is ***per se*** by opposition to every other thing which is ***per aliud***. The universe is therefore, cut into two pieces: the summit and the base. The first is absolutely positive, the second is absolutely negative. In case of danger, this duality is shaken. Once the world which is the negative side of ***Theos*** is under domination, negativity switches to positivity. The base shares the summit its positivity. Therefore, the unity between both is realized. ***Theos*** becomes ***Pantheos***. The revolutionary feels his aim everywhere. The ideal becomes real and the real becomes ideal. That is why all revolutionary ideologies are of a monistic type. Monotheism finds the end its final term. Martyrdom becomes for the revolutionary his real beatitude.



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